

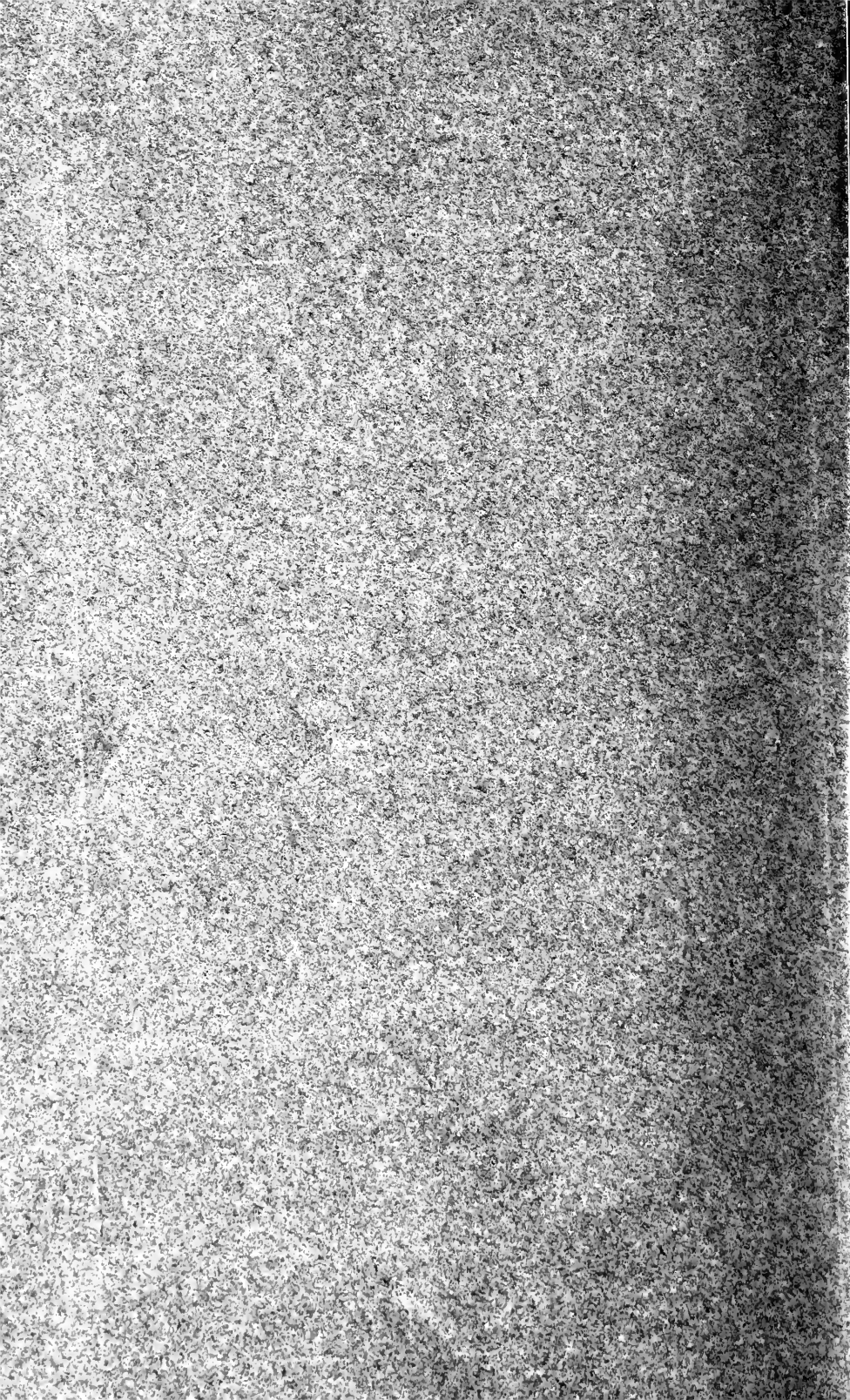
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILD LABOR

OUTLINES FOR STUDY

SEPARATE NO. 4, CHILD CARE AND CHILD WELFARE, PREPARED BY
THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR, IN COOPERATION WITH THE FEDERAL
BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, August 15, 1926.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith the fifth edition of Section VI of Child Care and Child Welfare, Outlines for Study, on Child Labor, revised to August 15, 1926. These outlines were originally prepared by the Children's Bureau, at the request of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, in order to supply material for vocational training for home making.

The preparation of the material was under the general direction of Dorothy Reed Mendenhall, M. D., assisted by Miss Mercy Beardsley Hooker.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, in submitting this material to the Federal Board for Vocational Education made the following statement of authorship and acknowledgments:

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The Children's Bureau acknowledges with gratitude assistance obtained from Miss Ilena Bailey, C. F. Langworthy, Ph. D., and Carl Larson, Ph. D., of the Department of Agriculture; Miss Laura A. Thompson, librarian of the Department of Labor; Miss Elva L. Bascom, principal of the School of Library Science, University of Texas; Edith Abbott, Ph. D., and Miss Neva Boyd, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy; E. V. McCollum, Ph. D., and John Howland, M. D., of Johns Hopkins University Medical School; and the home economics staff of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

The outlines which follow are intended to present in simplified form the outstanding features of the child-labor problem. They furnish an approach to the subject, indicate a method of study, and put into easily available form material from many widely scattered sources. They can not, however, be regarded as furnishing information which is either complete or final. The legal and statistical matter contained in the outlines, for example, is subject to continual revision as new laws are enacted and as the results of further research are made known.

CHILD LABOR: OUTLINES FOR STUDY

OUTLINE 1. HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE PROHIBITION AND REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

Child labor is not a new problem, resulting solely from the development of the modern factory system. Child labor has always been cheap labor, and wherever its employment has not been regulated employers have tended to use it excessively. The apprenticeship system of the medieval guilds imposed regulations which, where adequately enforced, were in many respects beneficial to the child worker. With the decline of apprenticeship and the growth of the modern factory system, the conditions under which children worked became increasingly hard. Beginning with the early years of the nineteenth century, the public began gradually to recognize the evils of child labor and to provide for its regulation through the passage of legislation. During the past hundred years laws regulating the employment of children in industrial and commercial pursuits have been enacted in practically all civilized countries, and the standards of regulation have been gradually raised from decade to decade.

I. THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

A. Child labor and its regulation prior to the industrial revolution

1. Not only were children employed in large numbers from early times in agricultural and domestic pursuits, but also in practically all trades and handicrafts.
2. While in medieval times young children were probably employed in large numbers for as long hours, and at as arduous tasks, as under the factory system of the early nineteenth century, their working conditions were in general better because of the regulations of the apprenticeship system under which many of them were employed.
3. The apprenticeship system, established by the craftsmen of the thirteenth century and made compulsory by the medieval trade guilds and later by national law, imposed the earliest regulations on child labor. This system when adequately enforced insured the child indentured as apprentice:
 - (a) A sound technical training for a skilled trade.

- (b) Further protection against exploitation as cheap labor by restriction of the numbers of apprentices who could be employed and also in some trades by the prohibition of the employment of children under specified ages or without specified educational qualifications.
- (c) Good working and living conditions during the period of training.

B. The effect of the industrial revolution on child labor

1. The gradual decline of the guilds and the apprenticeship system (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) with the development of the factory system (eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) together brought about a change for the worse in the condition of the child worker, through:
 - (a) The removal of all regulation of conditions of work and of all provision for technical training which had been part of the apprenticeship system.
 - (b) The greatly increased demand for child workers as cheap labor, following the invention of machinery, and their increased use in fatiguing and repetitive machine processes of no educational value.

C. Beginning of the public recognition of the evils of child labor and the legal regulation of its abuses

1. Up to the close of the eighteenth century there had been no public recognition of the evils of child labor. It was, in fact, generally regarded as a matter of course that practically all children except those of the most prosperous classes should go to work as soon as they were physically able to do so.
2. Through the investigations of abuses of the system of pauper apprenticeship under the poor law, by which paupers were bound out to mill owners, the bad conditions under which not only these but also other children were forced to work were first brought to public attention.
3. During the first half of the nineteenth century a series of parliamentary inquiries which gave striking testimony to the abuses attending the unregulated employment of children in many industries, together with the efforts of such reformers as Lord Shaftesbury, Robert Owen, Sir Robert Peel, and others, gradually aroused public opinion to the need of legal regulation.

4. The process of legislative reform was, however, very slow.

- (a) In 1819 the first act applying to other than pauper apprentices was passed regulating child labor in factories. It applied only to cotton mills, prohibiting the employment of children under 9 years of age and limiting the working hours of children under 16 to 12 hours a day.
- (b) In 1833 an act was passed prohibiting the employment of children under 9 in all textile mills, limiting the working hours of children under 13 to 9 hours a day and 48 hours a week, and that of young persons between 13 and 18 to 12 hours a day, or 69 a week, and providing for the appointment of factory inspectors. This was the first law to provide for a system of factory inspection.
- (c) In 1842, as the result of a striking parliamentary inquiry into the conditions of labor in mines, an act was passed prohibiting the employment of boys under 10, and of all girls and women, in mine pits, and requiring the appointment of inspectors to enforce the law.
- (d) By the act of 1844 work on certain dangerous machines was prohibited for children. At the same time the "half-time" system in the textile industries was established, whereby children worked and attended school alternately.
- (e) In the period 1845-1878 acts were passed raising the age and hours standards and gradually extending their application to all kinds of manufacturing industries.
- (f) In 1876 the first compulsory education law was passed, requiring the attendance at school of children up to 10 years of age, with certain exemptions.
- (g) Laws relating to child labor passed during the period between 1878 and the present day have been chiefly concerned with raising the age, hour, and educational standards of child labor in factories and workshops and with extending such standards to mercantile pursuits, street trades, and other occupations. By an act passed in 1901 the employment of children under 12 years of age was prohibited in factories or workshops.
- (h) In 1918 the Fisher Education Act was passed, which provides for the first time for the regulation of the employment of children in all gainful occupations, *including agriculture and domestic service*. It not only prohibits the employment of all children under 12, but also requires compulsory full-time school attendance of all children

up to 14 years of age, and compulsory continuation school attendance of all children up to 16 years, the age to be raised to 18 at the end of seven years from the time the continuation school section of the act becomes effective.¹

- (i) In 1920 a law was passed putting into effect the draft conventions relating to the employment of children adopted at the Washington and Genoa International Labor Conferences (see page 9 ff.), thus establishing a minimum age of 14 for work in factories and workshops.

II. THE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES²

A. Child labor up to the nineteenth century

1. As in England prior to the establishment of the factory system, child labor was very common. The conditions under which children worked were not obviously harmful, and provision was usually made for a certain amount of education. Since work made children self-supporting and kept them from the temptations of idleness, child labor was regarded by practically everyone as economically necessary and morally desirable.
2. The effect of the industrial revolution was similar to that in England, although the exploitation of children at the expense of their health and education was possibly not quite so great.

B. Early regulation of child labor by the States

1. Early legislative efforts, as in England, failed to establish adequate standards or to make necessary provision for enforcement. Prior to 1830 no effective regulation of child labor was accomplished.
2. The lack of education among working children was the first evil to be recognized and the first for which legislative remedies were sought.
 - (a) Connecticut, in 1813, passed a law providing for the education of working children by the proprietors of manufacturing establishments in which children were employed.

¹ The "appointed day" for the coming into effect of this section has not yet been set. The section was, however, voluntarily put into effect by the education authorities in London, Birmingham, and a few small areas. In London compulsory continuation schools were in operation between January, 1921, and the summer of 1922, but upon the request of the London County Council the president of the board of education has released the education authority from its statutory obligations in regard to such schools, and at present only voluntary continuation schools are in operation.

² Information regarding laws passed before 1920, secured mainly from the following sources (full titles given in the Reading References): Abbott, Carlton, Ogburn, Summary of the Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States. Legislation is included as of August 15, 1926.

- (b) Massachusetts, in 1836, provided that children under 15 employed in manufacturing should attend school at least three months a year.
 - (c) Prior to 1860 at least four other States (Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania) had passed similar laws.
3. The regulation of hours of work was the next step in child-labor legislation.
- (a) In 1842 Connecticut and Massachusetts passed laws restricting the employment of young children to 10 hours a day in certain manufacturing establishments.
 - (b) Prior to 1860 similar legislation was passed in New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio.
4. Commencing about the middle of the century, legislation began to be passed prohibiting the employment in manufacturing industries of children under certain ages in Pennsylvania (12 to 13 years), Rhode Island (12 years), Connecticut (9 to 10 years), and New Jersey (10 years).
5. By 1860 some public recognition of the abuses resulting from early child labor and of the right of the State to correct these abuses by legislation had developed in the industrial States of the North. Only a few laws had as yet been passed, however, for the purpose of correcting and regulating these abuses, and these were for the most part found to contain inadequate provision for enforcement.

C. State child-labor legislation, 1860-1926

1. Laws prohibiting the employment of children below certain specified ages have in these years gradually been extended to include at least factories and in many cases a large number of other occupations in almost all States (see Outline 4, Topic I, A, p. 30), while the specified age minima have gradually been raised from 10 and 12 to 14, and in a few States to 15 and 16 years.
- (a) In 1887 and 1889, respectively, Colorado and New York passed the first laws providing for a 14-year minimum for both boys and girls (manufacturing).
 - (b) While the child-labor laws of the greater number of States to-day provide for a 14-year minimum for general industrial employment, most States have established higher age minima for employment in mines and at other occupations regarded as specially hazardous.

- (c) The trend of legislation is at present towards the establishment of 15 or 16 year age minima for all gainful occupations.
- 2. Further restrictions on the employment of young children have been effected in this period through legislation requiring certain educational qualifications for admission to employment.
 - (a) The earliest form of this regulation required a definite period of schooling each year during the child's employment until he had reached a certain age, or in the year immediately preceding his first employment.
 - (b) The ability to read and write simple English sentences was another early requirement.
 - (c) The completion of a specified school grade was a requirement introduced in later legislation and is generally regarded as the most definite and satisfactory form of regulation.
 - (d) At the present time 37 States restrict child labor directly through requiring some kind of an educational qualification of children entering employment, 30 of them requiring the completion of a specified school grade. (See Outline 4, Topic I, B, 3, p. 34.)
- 3. Within comparatively recent years a further restriction on the numbers of children entering employment has been effected through the requirement of certain minimum conditions of health and physical development.
 - (a) The earliest form of such regulation was effected through conferring on the factory inspector authority to exclude from employment working children who were found, on physical examination, to be physically unfit to perform the work they were engaged upon.
 - (b) Other comparatively early laws required that the officers issuing work permits or employment certificates should have examined by a physician all children about whose physical condition they were in doubt.
 - (c) The most recent and satisfactory type of legislation requires that each child desiring to enter employment shall be examined by a public medical officer and shall not be permitted to work unless he is found to be of normal physical development, in sound health, and physically fit to perform the work which he is expecting to do.
 - (d) At the present time, physical requirements for the issuance of regular employment certificates are contained in the child-labor laws of 33 States, in 25 of which an examination by a physician is compulsory. (See Outline 4, Topic I, C, p. 35.)

4. During these years legislation extending the age of compulsory full-time school attendance and providing for the compulsory attendance of working children at continuation schools has been another important indirect means of restricting the numbers of child workers. (See Outline 4, Topic I, B, 1, 2, p. 33.)
5. Laws regulating the hours of children's work have been enacted in practically all industrial States. At the same time the working day has been gradually shortened, so that the 8-hour day or the 44 or 48 hour week for children under 16 is now found in 35 States. (See Outline 4, Topic I, D, p. 36.)
 - (a) The earliest laws provided for a 10-hour day and a 60, 58, 56, or 55 hour week.
 - (b) The first 54-hour-week law for children under 14 was passed in Michigan in 1889.
 - (c) The first 8-hour laws for children under 16 were passed in Illinois (any gainful occupation) and in Colorado (manufacturing) in 1903.³
6. Since 1860, legal prohibitions of the employment of children under 16 years of age at night have extended to 43 States. (See Outline 4, Topic I, E, p. 37.)
7. Special protection against dangerous, hazardous, or unhealthful occupations is a logical development. The first legislation of this sort is found in provisions of the penal codes of many of the States which make the employment of children in "vocations injurious to health or dangerous to life or limb" a misdemeanor.⁴ Transferring this prohibition to the labor law and making the factory inspector responsible for its enforcement was the next step. While the language of these early provisions was so broad that it would seem to have included the employment of children under the prohibited age in occupations in which they were exposed to dangerous gases, poisons, and other health hazards, it was generally narrowly interpreted so as to include only immoral exhibitions, acrobatic performances, and other occupations usually described as vicious in themselves. About 1900 the policy of including in the child-labor laws lists of prohibited machines and unhealthful occupations was begun.
8. Adequate legal provisions for the enforcement of child-labor laws have been established only comparatively recently. These consist of—
 - (a) Factory inspection.

³ In 1887 Alabama passed an 8-hour law for children under 14, but it was repealed in 1894.

⁴ New York, Acts of 1876, ch. 122; Wisconsin, Acts of 1880, ch. 239

- (b) Requirement of a work permit or employment certificate. This measure is of more recent development, but such a working paper, guaranteeing the eligibility of children entering employment, is now required in all except three States. (See Outline 4, Topic I, F, p. 37.)

D. Federal regulation of child labor

1. Attempts to secure Federal legislation, 1906-1916.

- (a) In order to bring about uniformity in child-labor legislation and its enforcement throughout the United States, numerous efforts were made during the decade 1906-1916 to secure the passage by Congress of a Federal child labor law.

2. Difficulty of securing such legislation.

- (a) Such legislation was difficult to secure, not only because of the opposition from States having low child-labor standards, but also because of the fact that the Constitution of the United States does not specifically grant to the Federal Government the right to regulate directly the conditions of labor in the various States.

3. The United States child labor act of 1916.

- (a) On September 1, 1916, Congress passed the so-called Keating-Owen bill, which, in prohibiting the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of goods produced in mines and quarries and in factories or in manufacturing establishments, mills, canneries, and workshops in which children were employed in violation of certain age and hour standards, effectually established a Federal regulation of child labor.

- (b) The law went into effect September 1, 1917, one year after its passage. It was administered by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

- (c) On June 3, 1918, after it had been in operation 275 days, the law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that it was an undue extension of the power to regulate interstate commerce, four of the nine judges, however, dissenting from the majority opinion.

4. The child labor tax law. (See Outline 4, Topic II, p. 39.)

- (a) On February 24, 1919, Congress enacted as a part of the revenue act a provision for the levying of a tax of 10 per cent on the annual net profits of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, or of any mine or quarry, employing children in violation of the age and hour standards established by the former Federal child labor law.

- (b) This act became operative on April 25, 1919, and was administered by the Office of Internal Revenue, United States Treasury Department, until May 15, 1922, when it was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court by an 8 to 1 decision on the ground that it was an infringement on the reserved rights of the States.

5. Constitutional amendment.

The following joint resolution was adopted at the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress and is now before the States for ratification:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"Article —.

"SECTION 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"SECTION 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

Passed the House of Representatives April 26, 1924.

Passed the Senate June 2, 1924.

E. The international regulation of child labor

1. The Berne International Conference of 1913 recommended the prohibition of the employment at night of children under 16 years of age.
2. Draft conventions with reference to the employment of children were adopted by the First International Labor Conference established under the League of Nations, held at Washington in November, 1919, as follows:
 - (a) Minimum age for entering industry:⁵ 14 years, except in Japan (minimum may be 12 for children who have finished the course in the elementary school), and India (minimum may be 12 in certain specified occupations).
 - (b) Night work between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m. Minimum age for night work—18 years, except in specified industries (manufacture of iron and steel; glass works; manufacture of paper; manufacture of raw sugar; gold-mining reduction work), where work must be continuous, where the minimum age is 16. Night work in coal and lignite mines may be permitted if ordinarily an interval of 15 hours, and in no case less than 13 hours, separates two periods of work.

⁵ The term used is "industrial undertaking," which is defined so as to include factories, workshops, mines, quarries, etc.

3. The Second International Labor Conference, held at Genoa, June 15 to July 10, 1920, adopted a draft convention fixing a minimum age of 14 for employment of children on vessels of any kind.
4. The Third International Labor Conference, held at Geneva, October 25 to November 19, 1921, adopted the following draft conventions relating to the employment of children:
 - (a) Prohibiting employment of children under 14 in agriculture except outside the hours fixed for school attendance.
 - (b) Providing a weekly day of rest in industrial undertakings.
 - (c) Prohibiting employment on vessels of persons under 18 years of age as trimmers and stokers.
 - (d) Requiring medical examinations of young persons under 18 employed on vessels.
5. These draft conventions have been ratified by a number of foreign countries. (See official publications, International Labour Office, Geneva.)

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OUTLINE 2. PRESENT EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

Over a million (1,060,858) children, 10 to 15 years old, inclusive, were reported as employed in some wage-earning occupation at the Fourteenth Decennial Census (1920). Of these less than one-fifth were employed in occupations affected by the Federal child-labor law and only about one-third in occupations affected by State child-labor laws. The majority (61 per cent) were engaged in agricultural pursuits, chiefly as farm laborers, and were, therefore, subject to almost no direct legal regulation, either State or Federal. Compulsory schooling laws offer a means of indirect regulation, which is, however, inadequate at best.

The number of child workers between 10 and 14 years of age reported by the census was 378,063. Although the great majority of these (87 per cent) were employed in agricultural pursuits, a number were engaged in occupations prohibited by State and Federal laws. No information is available regarding working children under the age of 10, though many are known to be employed, especially in such occupations as agriculture and street trading.

I. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Publications of United States Census Bureau:

1. The decennial census of population (volume on "Occupations" for each census) contains the only statistics of child labor for all occupations, and for the United States as a whole. The Fourteenth Census, taken in 1920, is the most recent enumeration.
2. The census of manufactures, heretofore taken every five years,¹ contains less detailed and less complete statistics, but is useful in studying the trend of child employment in manufacturing industries between the decennial years.

B. Annual and biennial reports of State labor departments and bureaus of statistics, city school departments, etc., in many cases contain only fragmentary information and at best are useful chiefly in showing the changes in the extent of child labor from year to year.

C. Reports issued from time to time by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor and other public and private agencies giving the results of special inquiries in the various fields of child labor.

¹ It is now planned to take this census biennially, but not to include statistics of child labor each time.

II. SCOPE OF FEDERAL CENSUS STATISTICS

A. The decennial census shows the number of persons 10 years of age and over in the United States reported as employed at the time of the enumeration.

B. It does not show—

1. The number of child workers *under 10 years of age*, which is considerable, especially in agricultural pursuits.
2. The number of children 10 years old and over who were *employed only during the summer vacation*, and were, therefore, reported as attending school and not employed at the time of the enumeration (the census of 1920 was taken in January).

III. NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD WORKERS BY INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION, UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1920^{1a}

(See Tables I and II)

A. *Occupations usually not regulated by State child-labor laws and not covered by the Federal child-labor laws²*

1. Agricultural pursuits: Numbers reported employed—647,309 children, or 61 per cent of the total number 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, reported at work, of whom over half (328,958) were under 14 years of age. The greater number of these children worked on the home farm, but 63,990 children between 10 and 16 were reported as working out as farm laborers. No information is published in the census regarding the number of children under 10 years of age employed in agriculture, but special studies made by the Children's Bureau and other agencies indicate that many young children are employed as farm laborers in different parts of the country.

^{1a} These figures show a considerable decrease in comparison with the 1910 census, not only in the total number of children at work but also in the numbers employed in each of the principal general occupational groups. As compared with an increase of 15.5 per cent in the child population 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, the number of children gainfully employed decreased almost half (46.7 per cent). In the proportion, also, of all children of these ages who are gainfully employed a corresponding decrease took place—from 18.4 per cent in 1910 to 8.5 per cent in 1920. The decline in both actual numbers and proportion employed is most striking in connection with agricultural pursuits, in which the numbers decreased 54.8 per cent, or from 72 per cent to 61 per cent of the total number of children gainfully employed. Marked decreases are shown also for the mining occupations (60.2 per cent), domestic service (51.9 per cent), and manufacturing and mechanical industries (29 per cent).

According to the interpretation of the Census Bureau, the decrease in the number and proportion of children employed between the two census periods is at least in part due to differences in the time or the method of enumeration. The principal factor in this reduction of child labor reported in 1920 is believed to be the change in census date from spring (Apr. 15 in 1910) to midwinter (Jan. 1 in 1920) which undoubtedly resulted in a smaller number of children being returned by the census enumerators as engaged in farm work and perhaps other seasonal occupations than would have been returned if the census had been taken in April as in 1910.

The statistics of employment in the nonagricultural occupations are not, however, influenced by this factor. The decrease of 26 per cent in the number of child workers in these occupational groups as contrasted with a 20 per cent increase in the total number of persons so employed may therefore safely be attributed to conditions affecting directly and especially the labor of children, chief among which are the enactment or strengthening of legal regulations. (See Child Labor in the United States—Ten questions answered, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 114.)

² Not now in effect, having been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. See p. 8.

Undoubtedly a much larger number of children are regularly employed in this occupation than were reported when the census was taken—which was in January at the time when many children usually employed as farm laborers were not at work.³ In 1910, when the census was taken in April, 1,432,428 children between 10 and 16, or 72 per cent of the total number of these ages reported as employed were engaged in agriculture.

2. Domestic and personal service.⁴ Numbers reported employed: 54,006, or 5.1 per cent of the working children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, and 0.4 per cent of the total child population of that age. Of these, 12,172 were under 14 years of age.

*B. Occupations usually regulated by State child-labor laws, but not covered by the Federal child-labor laws*⁵

1. Clerical pursuits, trade, transportation, professional, and public service. Numbers employed: 167,015, or 15.7 per cent of the working children 10 to 15 years old, inclusive. The principal occupations in which children in these pursuits were engaged: Messenger, errand and office boy, store clerk and sales person, newsboy, delivery boy, bundle and cash boy or girl, store laborer, telegraph messenger. While the census publishes no information regarding the number under 10 engaged in these occupations, it is known that many young children are employed, especially in the various street trades.

TABLE I.—Occupations of children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, by sex^a

Occupation	Children		Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total.....	1,060,858	100.0	714,248	100.0	346,610	100.0
Agricultural pursuits, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	647,309	61.0	459,238	64.3	188,071	54.3
Farm labor (home farm).....	569,824	53.7	396,191	55.5	173,633	50.1
Farm labor (away from home).....	63,990	6.0	51,000	7.1	12,990	3.7
Other pursuits.....	13,495	1.3	12,047	1.7	1,448	0.4
Nonagricultural pursuits.....	413,549	39.0	255,010	35.7	158,539	45.7
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	185,337	17.5	104,335	14.6	81,002	23.4
Clerical occupations.....	80,140	7.6	59,633	8.3	20,507	5.9
Trade.....	63,368	6.0	49,234	6.9	14,134	4.1
Domestic and personal service.....	54,006	5.1	16,082	2.3	37,924	10.9
Transportation.....	18,912	1.8	15,617	2.2	3,295	1.0
Extraction of minerals.....	7,191	0.7	7,045	1.0	146	(b)
Professional service.....	3,465	0.3	1,979	0.3	1,486	0.4
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	1,130	0.1	1,085	0.2	45	(b)

^a Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1920. Occupations of Children.

^b Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

³ See Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1920. Occupations of Children, p. 5.

⁴ Some of the occupations included in this classification by the census (such as work in barber shops, laundries, etc.), are in some States covered by State laws.

⁵ Not now in effect, having been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. See p. 8.

TABLE II.—*Proportion of children among all workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries*¹

Industry and occupation	Persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries				
	Total 10 years of age and over	Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive			
		Both sexes		Boys	Girls
		Number	Per cent		
Total.....	12,818,524	185,337	1.4	104,335	81,002
Laborers and semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.).....	6,576,571	164,064	2.5	86,623	77,441
Building and hand trades.....	693,725	7,476	1.1	7,009	467
Chemical and allied industries.....	124,630	2,158	1.7	1,119	1,039
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	180,379	4,938	2.7	1,269	3,669
Clay, glass, and stone industries.....	209,978	4,968	2.4	3,939	1,029
Clothing industries.....	422,137	11,757	2.8	2,288	9,469
Electrical supply factories.....	91,630	1,892	2.1	1,013	879
Food industries.....	348,430	9,934	2.9	4,633	5,301
Iron and steel industries.....	1,419,593	12,904	.9	10,617	2,287
Other metal industries.....	159,178	3,766	2.4	2,181	1,585
Lumber and furniture industries.....	489,332	10,585	2.2	9,159	1,426
Paper and pulp mills.....	106,932	1,273	1.2	730	543
Paper-box factories.....	23,836	1,790	7.5	464	1,326
Printing and publishing.....	91,839	4,023	4.4	2,048	1,975
Rubber factories.....	137,671	2,106	1.5	1,167	939
Shoe factories.....	225,435	7,545	3.3	4,374	3,171
Tanneries.....	59,706	781	1.3	584	197
Textile industries.....	945,707	54,649	5.8	21,917	32,732
Cotton mills.....	378,769	21,875	5.8	10,498	11,377
Knitting mills.....	119,547	7,991	6.7	2,087	5,904
Silk mills.....	125,801	10,023	8.0	3,220	6,803
Woolen and worsted mills.....	148,645	7,077	4.8	3,009	4,068
All other textile mills.....	172,945	7,683	4.4	3,103	4,580
All other.....	846,433	21,519	2.5	12,112	9,407
All other occupations.....	6,241,953	21,273	.3	17,712	3,561

¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1920. Occupations of Children.² Includes 6,980 apprentices to building and hand trades, 12,343 apprentices to other industries, and 1,950 children engaged in other occupations.*C. Occupations usually regulated by State child-labor laws, and covered also by the Federal child-labor laws*⁶

1. Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Numbers employed: 185,337 children, or 17.5 per cent of the total number 10 to 15 years old, inclusive, reported at work, and 1.5 per cent of the total number of children of those ages in the United States. Of these, 9,473 were under 14 years of age. The leading child-employing manufacturing industries:

- (a) According to the number of children employed as laborers and semiskilled operatives: Textiles (cotton, silk, knit goods, and woolen and worsted goods), iron and steel, clothing, lumber and furniture, food, shoes, building and hand trades, clay, glass and stone, cigars and tobacco, printing and publishing, other metals, chemical and allied industries, and rubber.

⁶ Not now in effect, having been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. See p. 8.

- (b) According to the proportion of children employed as laborers and semiskilled operatives among total wage earners in the same industries: Paper-box factories, textiles, printing and publishing, shoes, food, clothing, cigars and tobacco, clay, glass and stone, and other metals, lumber and furniture, electrical supplies, chemical and allied industries, and rubber.
2. Extraction of minerals (mines and quarries). Numbers employed: 7,191 children, or 0.7 per cent of total number 10 to 15 years old, inclusive, reported at work, and 0.1 per cent of the total child population of those ages in the United States. Of these, 5,850 were reported as employed in coal mines, 127 in iron mines, 825 in all other mines, and 389 in quarries.

IV. DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD WORKERS, BY STATES AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS, UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1920

(See Table III)

- A. Divisions in which the largest number, as well as the largest proportion, of children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, were employed:

South Atlantic.....	273, 981
East South Central.....	221, 342
West South Central.....	184, 267

- B. Divisions from which nearly nine-tenths of the agricultural child workers in the United States were reported:

South Atlantic.....	214, 906
East South Central.....	196, 620
West South Central.....	153, 187

- C. Divisions reporting largest number of children 10 to 15 years old, inclusive, engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits:

Middle Atlantic.....	61, 293
New England.....	39, 708
East North Central.....	30, 152
South Atlantic.....	26, 304

V. THE RELATION BETWEEN RURAL CHILD LABOR, ILLITERACY, AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

- A. The divisions and States in which both the largest numbers and largest proportions of children were employed were those for which were also reported:
1. The largest numbers of child farm laborers.
 2. The highest proportions of illiterates among the population 10 years old and over.
 3. The smallest proportions of children attending school.

TABLE III.—Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920, in number of children engaged in each principal occupation group, by geographical divisions and States

[Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population 1920. Occupations of Children]

Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, engaged in specified occupation group

Divisions and States	Total		Agricultural pursuits		Manufacturing and mechanical industries		Domestic and personal service		Clerical occupations		Trade		Transportation		Extraction of minerals		Other occupations														
	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920	1920	Per cent of increase or decrease, 1910 to 1920													
United States	1,000,888	1,960,225	-46.7	647,466	-51.3	185,737	209,943	-29.6	54,096	112,157	-51.8	80,110	71,400	+12.9	63,968	70,700	-10.1	18,912	20,892	-9.1	7,191	18,000	-60.2	4,595	4,303	.....	+12.0			
New England	50,229	63,938	-36.7	3,953	-5.992	-36.1	20,708	40,201	-1.2	2,956	4,331	-32.0	6,973	6,171	+13.0	5,110	5,978	-14.5	1,086	1,067	+1.8	30	59	-69.7	333	310	.....	+7.1		
Maine	2,285	5,426	-52.4	827	-1,059	-18.6	844	2,627	-67.8	143	637	-28.7	113	141	-21.0	239	303	-21.4	86	82	.....	2	11	.....	24	27	.....	.....	
New Hampshire	1,926	3,754	-49.4	213	715	-47.2	852	2,599	-66.1	45	127	-64.2	17	91	.....	166	201	-17.3	29	44	.....	1	10	.....	11	11	.....	.....	
Vermont	1,277	2,767	-54.2	101	1,366	-92.0	270	188	-41.2	2	10	.....	1	93	.....	193	193	-15.5	1	47	.....	18	38	.....	13	4	.....	.....	
Massachusetts	9,724	22,275	-43.0	831	1,131	-26.5	25,275	21,675	+16.8	1,239	1,774	-30.5	4,312	3,995	+8.1	2,749	3,309	-19.1	635	612	+3.7	0	27	.....	185	150	.....	+2.8	
Rhode Island	8,799	8,065	+9.1	119	231	-48.5	6,979	6,021	-13.9	215	289	-33.9	1	737	.....	420	437	-34.0	96	102	-5.9	2	6	.....	31	30	.....	.....	
Connecticut	11,759	11,088	+1.7	535	881	-37.9	7,003	6,982	-0.3	697	863	-19.2	1,672	1,152	+45.1	1,373	1,245	+10.3	139	180	-24.0	7	7	.....	69	58	.....	.....	
Middle Atlantic	131,511	187,781	-29.9	8,922	29,455	-69.7	11,291	76,880	-29.4	8,511	19,961	-57.4	50,924	29,081	+42.2	13,547	18,201	-24.1	3,787	4,145	-9.8	3,427	8,352	-59.0	910	1,108	.....	-17.9		
New York	49,800	67,093	-26.1	2,901	6,612	-56.7	17,812	24,070	-27.8	2,404	6,347	-62.7	19,094	16,928	+12.6	5,574	8,621	-35.0	1,783	1,862	-4.2	29	55	.....	478	519	.....	-7.9	
New Jersey	26,024	27,757	-6.0	908	2,762	-67.7	15,100	11,877	+26.6	1,296	2,657	-50.9	6,137	3,346	+83.5	2,185	2,581	-15.4	687	603	+13.9	15	30	.....	146	151	.....	-3.4	
Pennsylvania	55,687	93,931	-42.5	5,241	26,299	-72.8	27,821	38,951	-29.6	4,881	10,667	-55.0	6,723	9,407	-28.5	5,778	6,997	-17.4	1,267	1,680	-24.6	6,392	8,267	-23.0	296	435	.....	-34.3		
East North Central	100,801	156,249	-34.8	25,437	76,953	-67.0	30,152	41,026	-33.1	19,961	17,655	-13.1	17,200	14,412	+19.9	16,563	17,005	-2.9	3,652	3,438	-11.5	965	1,788	-49.1	831	807	.....	+3.0		
Ohio	48,119	42,816	+12.7	3,721	15,341	-75.7	4,374	12,122	-65.8	1,776	4,729	-62.4	2,352	3,241	-27.5	4,231	5,445	-22.3	628	884	-29.0	347	586	-59.5	190	225	.....	-15.6		
Indiana	36,911	31,781	+16.0	1,354	15,981	-92.0	4,744	7,435	-35.9	1,635	2,910	-43.7	1,643	1,302	+26.2	3,045	2,839	+7.3	631	570	+10.7	226	385	-60.1	140	161	.....	+13.0		
Illinois	26,710	26,700	.....	6,301	25,670	-75.4	11,711	1,188	+9,523	5,286	3,226	-37.8	19,413	7,997	+144.6	1,868	5,113	-64.8	1,067	1,250	-15.1	219	249	+0.8	272	268	.....	+1.5	
Michigan	13,754	39,293	-64.8	8,588	8,242	+3.6	3,305	1,992	+64.8	1,315	1,527	-16.0	1,437	1,285	+11.8	2,771	2,922	-5.3	498	404	+23.6	74	80	.....	66	92	.....	.....	
Wisconsin	15,674	23,508	-34.1	5,411	11,951	-54.7	5,515	9,073	-39.2	1,267	2,943	-56.9	1,395	1,181	+17.8	1,678	1,376	+21.9	398	202	-12.4	7	18	.....	63	61	.....	.....	
West North Central	57,066	102,106	-43.2	27,722	105,318	-71.2	7,708	12,487	-37.4	5,029	10,817	-53.5	8,884	4,324	+104.4	6,623	6,616	+0.1	1,914	2,433	-18.0	324	876	-63.0	172	412	.....	+6.8		
Minnesota	8,277	18,741	-56.2	4,008	13,771	-70.4	4,615	1,264	+15.9	809	1,921	-58.4	712	615	+14.8	1,053	793	+30.5	215	362	-28.8	15	22	.....	62	74	.....	.....	
Iowa	9,121	24,587	-62.6	4,384	16,711	-73.0	1,094	2,361	-53.8	1,052	2,227	-52.8	1,144	793	+44.3	1,388	1,370	+12.3	369	496	-26.6	56	341	.....	109	60	.....	.....	
Missouri	22,587	52,702	-57.1	9,622	35,154	-72.6	4,816	7,296	-33.2	1,591	3,570	-55.4	3,143	2,715	+25.4	2,124	2,720	-21.9	394	816	-15.0	141	298	-52.7	156	213	.....	-26.8		
North Dakota	2,810	7,552	-62.8	2,364	6,280	-62.4	48	141	.....	30	102	.....	37	17	.....	13	17	.....	43	86	.....	5	2	.....	17	19	.....	.....	
South Dakota	2,775	8,204	-66.9	1,928	7,600	-74.3	129	157	-23.6	505	507	-65.7	7	161	.....	161	183	-12.0	56	114	.....	50	9	.....	19	9	.....	.....	
Nebraska	5,286	12,301	-57.0	3,171	9,947	-68.1	449	335	-12.7	416	763	-45.5	370	273	+35.5	549	548	-0.2	206	198	+1.0	3	12	.....	58	26	.....	.....	
Kansas	7,250	18,740	-61.1	2,755	11,810	-71.6	721	906	-20.7	667	1,062	-37.8	534	414	+29.0	1,029	881	+16.3	137	347	+55.0	102	186	.....	55	17	.....	.....	
South Atlantic	254,981	568,236	-55.1	211,906	436,913	-51.0	26,301	5,201	+52.3	12,880	28,247	-56.2	8,318	6,494	+28.1	7,150	8,962	-20.2	3,383	3,816	-11.3	817	3,163	-74.2	723	450	.....	+60.7		
Delaware	1,100	3,156	-65.5	293	2,185	-87.0	395	641	-37.1	168	434	-61.2	240	189	+31.7	125	150	-16.7	58	144	.....	7	10	.....	8	10	.....	.....	
Maryland	12,400	24,887	-49.1	4,108	9,125	-55.2	4,741	7,565	-37.9	1,521	3,361	-54.1	1,605	1,811	-12.5	1,241	1,365	-9.1	416	1,396	.....	27	291	.....	90.7	32	.....	.....	
District of Columbia	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355	1	1,355
Virginia	2,116	61,859	-97.8	15,301	11,312	+33.6	3,596	6,757	-47.6	2,885	7,624	-62.4	1,137	515	+11.1	1,967	1,536	+11.0	654	750	-12.9	188	632	.....	76.3	115	.....	.....	
West Virginia	7,131	25,802	-78.8	4,112	16,360	-75.2	1,096	2,197	-50.0	1,716	3,996	-57.0	1,716	2,996	-42.6	1,716	2,996	-42.6	1,716	2,996	-42.6	1,716	2,996	-42.6	1,716	2,996	
North Carolina	62,162	113,679	-46.3	20,344	30,810	-34.0	7,667	16,144	-52.7	1,637	1,726	-5.1	790	818	-3.4	988	1,108	-27.1	328	689	-29.4	40	198	90	42	
South Carolina	64,520	117,274	-45.8	58,520	102,165	-41.5	3,329	16,215	-62.5	1,808	2,142	-16.1	91	172	562	741	-24.8	308	495	+61.0	11	19	77	27	
Georgia	45,811	103,560	-55.5	37,955	132,611	-71.3	1,811	8,771	-79.2	2,835	5,728	-50.6	1,541	2,128	-27.9	1,541	2,128	-27.9	751	788	-4.7	83	111	104	14	+74.0	
Florida	10,861	21,923	-50.5	7,140	16,120	-55.7	1,385	6,230	-64.6	807	1,534	-47.5	593	767	-22.5	567	707	-9.9	326	432	-23.6	39	139	74	74	
East South Central	221,162	411,896	-45.9	106,420	406,266	-73.1	8,702	17,118	-49.0	6,821	14,981	-54.1	2,672	2,890	-7.5	3,377	4,917	-27.4	1,780	2,236	-20.4	1,045	3,911	-65.3	324	311	.....	+4.2		
Kentucky	26,774	61,692	-56.2	21,636	55,294	-60.5	1,157	1,962	-41.5	1,436	3,962	-65.7	788	918	-12.7	945	1,133	-17.1	321	443	-27.5	93	708	70	4	
Tennessee	29,819	68,166	-56.3	23,168	60,912	-61.7	2,543	7,908	-68.2	1,116	3,908	-71.4	1,116	3,908	-71.4	1,116	3,908	-71.4	1,116	3,908	-71.4	1,116	3,908	-71.4	1,116	3,908	
Alabama	81,297	154,712	-47.4	37,295	116,100	-67.8	2,142	5,955	-70.5	2,089	4,912	-57.6	669	849	-21.6	983	1,419	-30.8	467	606	-28.2	209	1,134	70	71	
Mississippi	70,171	118,391	-40.9	37,861	111,992	-66.1	1,570	5,163	-24.4	1,467	2,340	-38.3	41	568	.....	573	789	-27.4	396	428	-7.5	10	1	.....	64	49	.....			

TABLE IV.—*Rural child labor, illiteracy, and school attendance*¹

Divisions and States	Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, engaged in agricultural pursuits		Per cent illiterate in the total population 10 years of age and over	Per cent of children 7 to 13 years of age, inclusive, reported as attending school
	Number	Per cent of total child population		
United States.....	647,309	5.2	6.0	99.6
New England.....	3,053	.4	4.9	95.3
Maine.....	823	1.0	3.3	94.2
New Hampshire.....	215	.5	4.4	93.4
Vermont.....	510	1.3	3.0	93.9
Massachusetts.....	851	.2	4.7	96.1
Rhode Island.....	119	.2	6.5	95.4
Connecticut.....	555	.4	6.2	94.7
Middle Atlantic.....	8,922	.4	4.9	94.3
New York.....	2,401	.2	5.1	93.9
New Jersey.....	998	.3	5.1	94.9
Pennsylvania.....	5,523	.6	4.6	94.5
East North Central.....	23,425	1.0	2.9	95.1
Ohio.....	3,721	.6	2.8	96.0
Indiana.....	4,844	1.5	2.2	94.9
Illinois.....	5,801	.8	3.4	94.7
Michigan.....	3,588	.9	3.0	94.9
Wisconsin.....	5,471	1.8	2.4	94.5
West North Central.....	29,722	2.0	2.0	93.9
Minnesota.....	4,698	1.7	1.8	93.9
Iowa.....	4,184	1.5	1.1	95.0
Missouri.....	9,622	2.4	3.0	93.4
North Dakota.....	2,364	2.7	2.1	92.1
South Dakota.....	1,928	2.5	1.7	93.5
Nebraska.....	3,171	2.0	1.4	93.9
Kansas.....	3,755	1.8	1.6	94.5
South Atlantic.....	214,906	11.2	11.5	85.6
Delaware.....	393	1.7	5.9	95.2
Maryland.....	3,168	1.9	5.6	92.6
District of Columbia.....	5	(²)	2.8	93.5
Virginia.....	15,501	5.0	11.2	84.8
West Virginia.....	4,112	2.1	6.4	89.1
North Carolina.....	50,582	13.5	13.1	87.0
South Carolina.....	56,920	21.9	18.1	87.1
Georgia.....	77,105	18.0	15.3	79.1
Florida.....	7,120	5.7	9.6	83.2
East South Central.....	196,620	15.5	12.7	83.6
Kentucky.....	21,036	6.6	8.4	88.5
Tennessee.....	32,326	10.0	10.3	85.3
Alabama.....	77,395	22.1	16.1	80.4
Mississippi.....	65,863	23.9	17.2	80.1
West South Central.....	158,187	10.9	10.0	82.6
Arkansas.....	45,686	17.6	9.4	82.0
Louisiana.....	23,718	9.2	21.9	75.9
Oklahoma.....	19,752	6.8	3.8	85.8
Texas.....	69,031	10.7	8.3	83.7

¹ Compiled from the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. III, Population, pp. 34-39, and bulletin, Occupations of Children, 1920.

² Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE IV.—*Rural child labor, illiteracy, and school attendance*—Continued

Divisions and States	Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, engaged in agricultural pursuits		Per cent illiterate in the total population 10 years of age and over	Per cent of children 7 to 13 years of age, inclusive, reported as attending school
	Number	Per cent of total child population		
Mountain.....	8,950	2.3	5.2	91.8
Montana.....	678	1.1	2.3	92.8
Idaho.....	1,092	2.0	1.5	95.5
Wyoming.....	307	1.5	2.1	92.8
Colorado.....	1,955	1.9	3.2	93.9
New Mexico.....	1,418	3.0	15.6	87.4
Arizona.....	1,931	5.2	15.3	78.8
Utah.....	1,477	2.4	1.9	95.5
Nevada.....	42	.6	5.9	90.5
Pacific.....	3,524	.7	2.7	94.1
Washington.....	1,024	.7	1.7	94.7
Oregon.....	668	.8	1.5	94.7
California.....	1,832	.6	3.3	93.9

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(See also Reading References under Outline 3, pp. 28-29.)

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OUTLINE 3. THE CAUSES, SOCIAL COST, AND PREVENTION OF CHILD LABOR

Poverty and ignorance are both cause and effect of child labor. Although a large proportion of the children who go to work as soon as the law allows give dissatisfaction with school as the direct cause, nevertheless it is chiefly in homes where poverty, past or present, has caused a low standard of living or ignorance of the value of education that this dissatisfaction results in the child's leaving school for work. Physical deterioration, moral defect, and industrial waste, as well as poverty, result from premature employment. While the enactment and the adequate enforcement of good child labor and compulsory school attendance laws are essential to the proper protection of children against industrial exploitation and loss of educational opportunity, adequate family incomes and an educational system satisfactorily adjusted to the needs of adolescent children are prerequisite to the solution of the child-labor problem.

I. THE CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

A. Family necessity

1. Investigations made in various localities have shown that from one-fourth to at least one-third of the children entering industry before the completion of the elementary-school course do so because of personal or family necessity.
 - (a) An intensive inquiry into the causes for leaving school for work in the case of 620 children in seven industrial centers located in Rhode Island, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania, based on the family income for the preceding year, showed that 30 per cent of the children entered employment because of family necessity. (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, pp. 263-264.)
 - (b) Of 864 families having children under 16 years of age at work in the glass industry, there were 36.3 per cent in which the earnings of the children were necessary to maintain the family. (Ibid., p. 32.)
 - (c) Over one-third of 168 workers under 16 years of age in Waltham, Mass., said that economic need was their chief reason for leaving school. (See Abels, *From School to Work*, p. 23.)
 - (d) Two-fifths of 823 children interviewed in connection with a study of working children of Boston, Mass., gave economic need as a reason for leaving school. (See Woodbury, *The Working Children of Boston*, p. 99.)

2. Many children go to work because their earnings are desired to raise the level of personal or family subsistence, although not absolutely necessary for support.
3. Even when not the primary cause poverty is an important secondary cause of early child labor. Many parents, deprived, generally through poverty, of an education in their youth, do not understand the value of education for their children and permit them to leave school and go to work, even when the family income is sufficient to keep the child in school. Economic necessity is an important factor in the employment of children on the home farm. The work of children on the farm is very generally regarded as a necessity, especially in the case of crops requiring much hand labor, inasmuch as farm labor is costly and farmers as a rule have little ready money. Although farm work does not usually oblige children to leave school at an early age, it is responsible both for irregular school attendance and for shortening the school term in rural districts.

B. Failure of the schools to interest the child and to provide him with the right kind of training

1. Investigations have shown that dissatisfaction with school is the sole reason for leaving school for work in a large proportion of cases, and that in many others it is a contributing cause.
 - (a) The study of conditions under which 620 children left school to go to work (see Topic I, A, 1), previously mentioned, showed "that 48.9 per cent of the children studied were not satisfied at school, their attitude ranging from a mere dislike to a positive hatred of everything connected with the schools." (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, p. 33.) In 26.6 per cent of the cases, the child's dissatisfaction with school was the direct cause of going to work. (Ibid., p. 264.)
 - (b) One-fifth of all the children interviewed in the study of working children of Boston stated that their reason for leaving school was that they were discontented with school. (See Woodbury, *The Working Children of Boston*, p. 115.)
 - (c) Almost 30 per cent of 168 children under 16 years of age working regularly in Waltham, Mass., gave dislike of school as their chief reason for leaving. (See Abels, *From School to Work*, p. 23.)

2. While many children undoubtedly leave school because of restlessness, impatience with discipline, and personal and family ignorance of the value of continued school training, the failure of the schools to provide the right kind of training for the needs of present-day life is an important cause of dissatisfaction with school.
- (a) There is no adequate provision made in the upper grades of many schools to fit children for industrial life. The training is chiefly "bookish" and is intended to prepare for more training along the same lines. Its lack of practical appeal robs many children of any incentive to complete the elementary school and causes dissatisfaction among parents and children.
 - (b) Children with no marked intellectual tastes, though in many cases with sufficient ability in practical work, get discouraged by repeated failure and leave school.
 - (1) A serious amount of retardation is found among working children.
 - (a) 31.5 per cent of the regular workers in the study of the working children of Boston had failed to complete normal grades for their ages. (See Woodbury, *The Working Children of Boston*, p. 166.)
 - (b) In a study of 620 working children (see Outline 3, Topic I, A, 1, p. 19), it was found that 83.3 per cent were above the average age of their classmates when they left school. (See *Summary of Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, p. 265.)
 - (c) Studies of retardation in rural areas indicate that the problem is an even more serious one among child laborers on farms. In one cotton-growing section of Texas 58 per cent, and in another 68 per cent of the white children 8 to 15 years of age, inclusive, were retarded, while an even larger proportion of the colored children were over the normal age for their grades. (See *The Welfare of Children in Cotton-Growing Areas of Texas*.) Of resident child workers in the sugar-beet fields of Colorado and Michigan, 60 per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, were found to be retarded. (See *Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan*, pp. 42, 99.)

C. Ignorance of the physical, economic, and moral disadvantages of early child labor and of the advantages of continued school training on the part of—

1. The child.

- (a) The child is eager to go to work because his friends are at work, because he wishes to be independent, and because he is attracted by the feeling of adventure and the freedom which entrance into industry brings.
- (b) He is too immature to have a definite ambition, too ignorant of industrial conditions to foresee the future, monotonous at best, which awaits the untrained worker, and too unacquainted with fields of work where education counts to understand its value. When, if ever, the importance of education is realized, the opportunity has usually gone by.

2. The parent.

- (a) The parent in many cases went to work as soon as the law allowed, and, without weighing the matter at all, expects his child to do the same.
- (b) Some parents believe that it is good for children to go to work young, and that while they are in school they are merely "loafing" and acquiring habits of laziness.
- (c) Even parents who realize dimly the value of education are not sufficiently impressed with its importance to make the effort required to keep children in school against their will.
- (d) Some parents (probably comparatively few) look upon the child as an economic asset.

3. The employer.

- (a) Many employers, who themselves entered industry at an early age, are sincere in their belief that premature labor does the child no harm. They are likely to consider isolated cases in which no apparent harm was done as typical, when, as a matter of fact, they are exceptional.
- (b) Many are too shortsighted to see the economic waste involved, as long as a supply of cheap labor is available for immediate needs.
- (c) Some employers believe that children are "necessary" to industry, and so acquiesce in the sacrifice. Experience has shown, however, that industries employing children are not injured when child labor is no longer available. Moreover, if an industry can not exist without child labor it has no right to exist, for child labor is too costly to industry itself to be permitted, even if its cost to society as a whole is ignored.

4. The teacher.

- (a) Many teachers are ignorant of conditions in the business and industrial world.
- (b) Many teachers believe that "it is better for children to be at work than running the streets," failing to realize that idleness is not the sole alternative to child labor.
- (c) Teachers in close contact with the child who is a misfit in the schools frequently believe that such children can not profit by an education, unaware that a solution may be found in reorganization of the educational system.

5. The public.

- (a) The public, ignorant of real conditions, holds views similar to those of the parent, the employer, and the teacher.
- (b) The public is in many cases preoccupied, indifferent, or blinded by selfish interests. It needs to be aroused to the dangers to society as a whole and to industry in particular, as well as to individuals, in premature child labor.

II. THE SOCIAL COST OF CHILD LABOR

A. Health

1. Employment during adolescence tends to be detrimental to normal physical development.

- (a) These are the years of great growth.
- (b) The growing body is peculiarly liable to overstrain.
- (c) Much of the work that children do involves overstrain of one kind or another.
- (d) Many children are employed at occupations for which they are unfitted by reason of physical defect or peculiarity.
- (e) Employed children do not have time for sufficient play for proper physical development.

2. Children are more prone to accidents than adult workers.

- (a) Their natural playfulness and ignorance of consequences make them more careless with machinery.
- (b) Imperfect coordination of muscles renders them more liable to make some movement injurious in its consequences.

3. Children are more susceptible to industrial poisons than adult workers.

4. Certain occupations and industries have been recognized in legislation as especially dangerous to the health of the growing child. These include:

- (a) Work in and about mines and quarries.
- (b) Occupations involving night work.
- (c) Occupations involving exposure to the weather.

- (d) Occupations involving precarious and dangerous positions or exposure to injurious substances.
 - (e) Industrial home work, with unrestricted hours and often under insanitary conditions.
 - (f) The glass industry, because of glass dust in the air, broken glass on the floor, intense heat, and sudden transitions from heat to cold.
 - (g) The canning industry, chiefly because of long hours and insanitary living quarters.
5. Morbidity and mortality are higher among working than non-working children.
- (a) Chronic maladies of nutrition and of the nervous system, especially, are common among working children. The necessity for speed frequently results in nervous exhaustion.
 - (b) Sick-ness-insurance records show an extremely high rate of morbidity among youthful workers in Austria, one of the few countries where any study of the effects of work on young persons has been made, especially during the second year of working life, when the injurious results of the occupation have had time to make themselves felt.
 - (c) Study of the causes of death among cotton-mill operatives in Fall River shows that the death rate from tuberculosis among boys 15 to 19 years of age employed in cotton mills was nearly double that of boys not so employed, and among girls employed was more than double that of girls not so employed. (See Summary of Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, p. 368.)
6. Underdevelopment, ill health, and deficiency in physical vigor in the worker result:
- (a) To the individual worker:
 - (1) In low earning power.
 - (2) In premature old age.
 - (b) To the employer:
 - (1) In loss of industrial efficiency in his workers.
 - (c) To society:
 - (1) In physical deterioration of the race.

B. Education

1. Illiteracy and lack of the rudiments of a general education result from early child labor. Although it is the tendency of modern legislation to prescribe an increasingly high age and educa-

tional standard for entrance into industry, a number of States still permit children to go to work before they have received the rudiments of elementary education. (See Outline 4, Topic I, B, p. 33.)

- (a) Of 19,696 children between 14 and 16 who went to work in 1917 and 1918 in five States, the laws of which fix no educational minima, more than one-half had not completed the fourth grade, and more than one-fourth were unable to sign their names legibly. (See Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law, pp. 43, 46.)
 - (b) Of 620 working children under 16 (see Outline 3, Topic I, A, 1 (a), p. 19), less than one-fourth had reached the seventh grade, and only a little over one-half had reached the fifth grade. In one city the proportion who had gone to work before reaching the fifth grade was 77.4 per cent. (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, p. 265.)
 - (c) Over one-third of 160 regular workers under 16 years old who had passed their fourteenth birthday before going to work had not reached the seventh grade. (See Abels, From School to Work, p. 26.)
 - (d) Only about one-half of the 14 and 15 year old children taking out certificates during the period covered by the study of working children of Boston had completed the eighth or a higher grade. (See Woodbury, Working Children of Boston, p. 165.)
2. Lack of trade training hampers the child worker. Even if he has had the rudiments of a general education, the child of 14 or 15 has usually had no special training qualifying him for work at any skilled trade. Consequently he enters an unskilled or "blind-alley" occupation, which offers little or no opportunity for training for a more skilled or better-paid job.
- (a) According to the findings of a Massachusetts inquiry, 98 per cent of the children in that State who begin work between 14 and 16 are employed in unskilled or low-grade skilled industries. It was found in this same inquiry that in the textile industry "two years may and four years will bring the average maximum wage." (Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, pp. 31 and 45.)
3. Long hours of monotonous work blunt the child's undeveloped faculties and offer little or no opportunity for mental development.

C. Poverty and dependency

1. The child worker, handicapped by the lack of education, can enter only unskilled trades in which his maximum earning capacity is soon reached. In some trades, when the child becomes too old for a child's job, he is replaced by other child workers, and can not find other employment because he is trained for no other work.
 - (a) In more than two-thirds of the cases studied in a Government investigation (Topic I, A, 1, p. 19), "where the boys were intelligent enough to have a definite ambition, the work they were doing was in no way related to their ambition and afforded no possible opportunity of furthering it. Among the girls there was even less connection between occupation and ambition." (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, p. 267.)
2. Poverty and probable dependency in old age are the lot of a large proportion of former child workers, who in their turn become the fathers of the child workers of the future.
3. Entering into competition with adult workers, child labor lowers the standard of adult wages.

D. Delinquency

1. Investigations have shown that delinquency is much more common in working than in nonworking children.
 - (a) In an investigation of 4,278 delinquent boys and 561 delinquent girls it was found that 56.5 per cent of the boys and 62.2 per cent of the girls were working children. "By comparing the number of the working and nonworking delinquents with the census figures for working and nonworking children in the places studied, it is shown that the workers are disproportionately numerous." Sixty-five and eight-tenths per cent of the "repeaters" were working children, 34.2 per cent nonworking. (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, pp. 273-274.)
2. While this difference may be due in part to the less desirable home environment of the working child, it is due in many instances to the comparative freedom from restraint enjoyed by working children and to the demoralizing effects of the occupations which children enter.

- (a) In the investigation cited above, among the boys employed at the time of arrest the largest proportion from any one occupation (21.83 per cent) came from newsboys, errand boys coming next with 17.8 per cent. Among girls employed when arrested domestic service yielded the largest proportion of delinquents (53.95 per cent), textile industries following with 12.36 per cent. (See Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, p. 277.)

E. Industrial waste

1. Early child labor results in a physically subnormal race of adult workers.
2. Lack of education results in a great loss of potential industrial ability.

F. Social and political loss

1. Without education, the child worker can seldom develop into a leader.
2. Society loses not only many potential leaders, but also many more citizens capable of intelligent civic action.

III. THE PREVENTION OF CHILD LABOR

A. Legislation

1. Adequate child-labor and school-attendance laws adequately administered are, under existing conditions, necessary to insure children protection against the evils of premature employment. (See Outline 1, p. 4, and Outline 4, p. 30, for legislative standards, past and present.)

B. Readjustment in our economic life

Without such readjustments as will insure the following conditions, no just and final solution can be found through legislation alone:

1. A wage earned by the father, sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living.
2. A system of State aid to widows and dependent children, sufficient to enable the latter to remain in school up to the age of 16.

C. An educational system which will offer to children a real training for present-day life, work, and citizenship

1. The revision of our educational system requires:
 - (a) More schoolhouses, better built and better equipped.
 - (b) More teachers, better trained and better paid.

- (c) A revision of the curriculum so that every child may be given training best suited to his tastes and ability.
- (d) The general introduction of vocational training in the school curriculum.
- (e) Provision for part-time and evening classes in trade training, trade extension, and general education for workers of all ages. (See Outline 5, Topic I, C, p. 45.)

D. The education of public opinion

The dissemination of knowledge based on the results of scientific investigations of the social, physical, and industrial cost of child labor.

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OUTLINE 4. THE PRESENT LEGAL STATUS OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 15, 1926

In all except two States the minimum age for work, at least in factories and often in many other employments, is placed as high as 14 years, and seven States have an age minimum of 15 years or over. Thirty-four States provide an 8-hour day or 44 or 48 hour week for children under 16, and 43 prohibit their work at night.¹

Few State laws apply specifically to work in agricultural pursuits or domestic service.² Although a number of laws apply to "all gainful occupations" and would therefore nominally cover farm work and housework, almost the only prohibition of these types of child labor is that which results indirectly from the operation of the compulsory school attendance laws. Its effectiveness, therefore, depends wholly upon the strictness with which these laws are enforced.

The provisions of the Federal laws (see Outline 1, Topic II, D, 3 and 4, p. 8) affected only children employed in two occupational groups—the manufacturing and mining industries.

Certain of the important phases of child-labor regulations are summarized³ in the following outline:

I. REGULATION BY THE STATES

A. *Age minimum*⁴

1. In factories, stores, etc. (This minimum age applies to work in at least factories and stores, and often to other occupations, with or without exemptions, as indicated. Lack of any regulation for stores is classed as an exemption, as is also a specific exemption of canneries. Exemptions not applying to factories or stores do not affect the classification of a State.)
 - (a) Over 14 years (with exemptions limited to outside school hours)—3 States: Maine (15), Michigan (15), Rhode Island (15). (See also Idaho, under (d).)

¹ These general statements take no account of limitations upon the application of the laws or of exemptions, which often decidedly weaken the provisions. For details, see summary under I. Regulation by the States.

² In Wisconsin the State industrial commission has power to regulate the employment of children under 16 in cherry orchards, market gardening conducted or controlled by canning companies, and the culture of sugar beets or cranberries.

³ In analyzing these provisions the States are arranged in groups, the basis of classification being the attainment of certain standards of protection of children from early labor, long hours, and other industrial hazards. But it should be remembered that such a classification is at best but a rough approximation of the actual position of any State in regard to its restrictions upon child labor. The laws of the various States are so differently expressed, and many of them are so burdened with exemptions the actual effect of which can not be determined, that accurate classification is impossible. For instance, a State with a minimum age of 15 years with exemptions permitting children over 12 to work under certain conditions may actually afford much less protection to its children than one with a minimum age of 14 with no exemptions. Moreover, the exemptions may be of such widely varying degrees of importance that the fact that two States are classified under the same heading does not necessarily imply that their standards are even approximately the same.

⁴ For compulsory school-attendance provisions, which may sometimes indirectly affect the minimum age of employment during school hours, see B, 1, p. 33.

- (b) Over 14 years (with exemptions not limited to outside school hours)—4 States: California (15), Ohio (16), Montana⁵ (16), Texas⁵ (15).
- (c) Fourteen years (without exemptions)—13 States: Connecticut, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee.
- (d) Fourteen years (with exemptions limited to outside school hours)—14 States and the District of Columbia: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Idaho,⁶ Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon,⁷ Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.
- (e) Fourteen years (with exemptions not limited to outside school hours)—12 States: Delaware, Florida (14 for factories, 12 for stores), Georgia,⁵ Iowa, Mississippi,⁵ Missouri, North Carolina,⁸ Oklahoma, South Carolina,⁵ South Dakota, Vermont, and Washington.
- (f) Lower than 14 years—2 States: Utah (no age minimum⁹), Wyoming (no age minimum⁹).

2. In mines and quarries (for boys).

- (a) Over 16 in mines and quarries (without exemptions)—2 States: Texas (17), Wisconsin (18).
- (b) Over 16 in mines, 16 in quarries (without exemptions)—1 State: Arizona.
- (c) Over 16 in mines and quarries (with exemptions)—1 State: New Mexico (18).
- (d) Eighteen in mines, 14 in quarries (without exemptions)—1 State: New Jersey.
- (e) Sixteen in both mines and quarries (without exemptions)—24 States: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon,¹⁰ Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming.

⁵ No age minimum for stores.

⁶ Compulsory school attendance law in effect raises the minimum age to 15 for employment during school hours (child whose bodily or mental condition renders attendance at school inexpedient exempted).

⁷ The only exemption is for employment during school vacation of two weeks or more, which is permitted to child over 12 in work not detrimental to health or morals in judgment of State board of inspectors of child labor. Board interprets this to exclude work in factories and stores, except errands for small stores not in congested districts.

⁸ Minimum age in factories and canneries, 14; in stores, 14 except under regulations prescribed by State child-welfare commission.

⁹ No age minimum except that fixed indirectly by the compulsory school attendance law for work during school hours. Certain specific dangerous or injurious manufacturing processes are prohibited under 16. In Wyoming no child whose attendance at school is required by law may be employed in factories or stores during school hours.

¹⁰ No minimum age specified in law, but State board of inspectors of child labor, under its power to refuse to issue certificates to children not physically able to do work required, refuses to issue certificates to children under 16 to work in mines or quarries.

- (f) Sixteen in mines (without exemptions); no specific provisions for quarries—4 States: Colorado, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota.
 - (g) Sixteen in mines (with exemptions); no provisions for quarries—2 States: Iowa (16 during school term; 14 at any time), Washington.
 - (h) Lower than 16 in mines and quarries—3 States: Michigan (15 in mines during school hours, no minimum age specified outside school hours; 15 in quarries during school hours, 14 in quarries outside school hours); New Hampshire (14 in quarries; no specific provisions for mines); Rhode Island (mines and quarries not specified, but act fixing a minimum age of 15 during school hours and 14 outside school hours in factories, etc., applies to every person, firm, or corporation employing any child under 16, "whatever the business conducted" except agricultural pursuits and domestic service).
 - (i) Lower than 16 in mines (without exemptions); no provisions for quarries—5 States: Idaho (14), Louisiana (14), Minnesota (14), South Carolina (14), South Dakota (14).
 - (j) No minimum age provisions specified in law for either mines or quarries—5 States and the District of Columbia: District of Columbia, Florida,¹¹ Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nebraska.
3. In occupations dangerous to life or limb or injurious to health or morals.
- (a) Most States have laws prohibiting children under specified ages from work in at least a certain number of dangerous or injurious occupations. Much variation is found in both the number and the type of occupations and processes prohibited, but many of the laws enacted within the past 10 years follow rather closely the sections of the so-called "uniform child labor law" relating to this subject.¹²
 - (b) Determination of dangerous or injurious occupations by State boards. In the following 22 States a State board of labor or of health has authority to determine what occupations or processes are dangerous or injurious to children under specified ages, usually 16 or 18, and to prohibit their employment therein: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

¹¹ By implication from employment certificate law, minimum age in mines would be 14.

¹² See secs. 3, 4, 5, 18, 19, and 21 of the uniform child labor law (Reading References, p. 43).

B. Educational minimum

1. Compulsory attendance at all-day school (all laws have exemptions, many of them seriously crippling the effect of the compulsory provision) required up to the age of—
 - (a) Eighteen years: Eight States—Idaho, Montana (where continuation schools are established, required only in first-class districts; elsewhere 16), Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, Washington (where continuation schools are established; elsewhere 16).
 - (b) Seventeen years: Six States—Delaware (17 outside Wilmington, 16 in Wilmington), Maine, Maryland (17 outside Baltimore, 16 in Baltimore), North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee.
 - (c) Sixteen years: Twenty-eight States and the District of Columbia—Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia,¹³ Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana (in parish of Orleans, elsewhere 14), Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi (certain counties exempted), Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
 - (d) Fifteen years: One State—Arkansas.
 - (e) Fourteen years: Five States—Georgia, North Carolina (act not in force in any county having a higher compulsory education law), South Carolina, Texas, Virginia (localities may obtain exemption).
2. Compulsory continuation-school attendance for employed children required ¹⁴ (under certain specified conditions) up to the age of—
 - (a) Eighteen years: Thirteen States—California, Illinois (establishment of schools optional with school authorities; day school attendance law requires continuation-school attendance to 16; school authorities may require attendance to 18), Indiana (local school authorities may establish schools and require attendance), Missouri (penalty section applies, however, only to nonattendance of children under 16 years of age), Montana, Nevada, New York,¹⁵ Ohio,¹⁶ Oklahoma, Oregon (evening-school attendance accepted as substitute), Utah, Washington,¹⁶ Wisconsin.
 - (b) Seventeen years: One State—Michigan.

¹³ Required indirectly under terms of compulsory school attendance law passed later than child labor law.

¹⁴ There are no provisions for compulsory attendance at continuation school in the following 21 States and the District of Columbia: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Wyoming.

¹⁵ By September, 1928, a sufficient number of schools shall be established so as to afford the required instruction to all minors under 18 subject to the act.

¹⁶ Attendance compulsory after schools have been established; no compulsory provision for their establishment.

(c) Sixteen years: Thirteen States—Arizona, Connecticut,¹⁶ Delaware, Florida (evening-school attendance accepted as substitute), Iowa, Kentucky,¹⁶ Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Tennessee,¹⁶ West Virginia.

3. Educational requirements for regular employment certificates. (Compulsory school attendance provisions which in effect may raise these requirements for many children in certain States are not included. Grade of school work required only is given, without regard to such additional requirements as ability to read and write English.)

- (a) Completion of eighth grade or of "common" or "grammar" school course (see also under *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and *g*): Nine States and the District of Columbia—Delaware (in Wilmington, by ruling of board of education; in rest of State, indirectly through compulsory education law; with exemptions), District of Columbia, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota (school attendance for 9 years, exclusive of kindergarten, accepted as substitute), Oregon (ruling of industrial welfare commission), Vermont, Wisconsin (school attendance for 9 years, exclusive of kindergarten, accepted as substitute).
- (b) Completion of eighth grade; or literacy in English and attendance at evening or continuation school: One State—Nebraska.
- (c) Completion of eighth grade for child under 16 (employment-certificate requirement extends to 18): One State—Utah.
- (d) Completion of eighth grade for child 14 to 15 (with exemptions); no requirement for child 15 or over: One State—Washington (where continuation schools are established).
- (e) Completion of eighth grade or 8 years' school attendance: One State—Rhode Island.
- (f) Completion of seventh grade (see also Maryland, under *h*): Two States—California, Ohio.
- (g) Completion of sixth grade: Ten States—Alabama, Connecticut,¹⁷ Illinois,¹⁷ Iowa,¹⁷ Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York (eighth for child under 15), Pennsylvania,¹⁷ West Virginia.
- (h) Completion of fifth grade: Four States—Arizona,¹⁷ Kentucky,¹⁷ Maryland (outside Baltimore city, completion of seventh grade, under school attendance law applying to counties),¹⁷ New Jersey.¹⁷

¹⁶ Attendance compulsory after schools have been established; no compulsory provision for their establishment.

¹⁷ Completion of designated grade in specified subjects. (In Connecticut these qualifications may be increased by the local school authorities; State board of education or a local school official designated by that board may release a child from these requirements.)

- (i) Completion of fourth grade: One State—Arkansas.
- (j) No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (usually ability to read and write English, or ability to read and write English and perform simple operations in arithmetic): Seven States—Colorado (evening-school attendance accepted as substitute), Florida, Georgia, Idaho (educational requirement specified, but no provision made for employment certificates), New Hampshire, Oklahoma (specified school attendance may be substituted), South Dakota (specified school attendance, or lawful excuse therefrom, may be substituted).
- (k) No educational requirement: Eleven States—Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina (State child-welfare commission may make rulings concerning requirements for issuance of employment certificates), South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas,¹⁸ Virginia, Wyoming (no legal provision for employment certificates applicable to general occupations).

C. Physical minimum

(This summary covers only requirements of physical examinations for regular employment certificates. Examinations to determine age are not included.)

1. Examination by physician before child goes to work mandatory: Twenty-five ¹⁹ States—Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia,²⁰ Illinois, Indiana,²¹ Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana,¹⁹ Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina,²² Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia. (See also Wisconsin, under 2, and Texas, under 3.)
2. Examination by physician before child goes to work optional with certificate-issuing officer: Eight States and the District of Columbia—District of Columbia,²³ Florida, Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, New Mexico,²⁴ Oklahoma, Oregon,²³ Wisconsin (required in Milwaukee for all applicants for first regular employment certificates, by order of industrial commission).

¹⁸ No "regular" employment certificate required for child above minimum age (15); fifth-grade requirement for "poverty" permit, which may be issued to child between 12 and 15 years of age under certain conditions.

¹⁹ In one of these States (Louisiana) the law does not go into effect until July 1, 1927.

²⁰ The employment certificate must show that child is physically fit to follow the employment sought, and State department of commerce and labor holds that examination by a physician is compulsory.

²¹ But the law exempts from this requirement, upon written objection of parent, child who has been exempted from physical examination when attending school (parent's written objection required for latter exemption also).

²² Examination within six months previous by authorized medical officer may be accepted as substitute.

²³ Issuing officer must certify to child's physical fitness; therefore he might call upon a physician to do so.

²⁴ Satisfactory proof must be furnished to certificate-issuing officer that the work is not dangerous to child or injurious to his health, and application for employment certificate must show that child is in good physical health.

3. No provision for requiring examination by physician before child goes to work (except in some States to determine age): Fifteen States—Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas,²⁵ Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wyoming (no legal provision for employment certificates applicable to general occupations).

D. Maximum hours

(The provisions here given are those applying, unless otherwise indicated, to children under 16 in factories and stores. The same regulations in some States apply to other occupations and also to children up to 18 or 21 years of age, to all females, or to all employees. Lack of any regulation or a lower standard for stores is classed as an exemption, as is also a specific exemption of canneries. Exemptions not applying to factories and stores do not affect the classification of a State.)

1. Maximum working day 8 hours, or not over 48 hours permitted per week (without exemptions): Twenty-three²⁶ States and the District of Columbia—Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana,²⁶ Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
2. Maximum working day 8 hours, or not over 48 hours permitted per week (with exemptions): Fifteen States—Colorado, Connecticut (48-hour week in factories; 58-hour week in stores), Delaware, Iowa, Maine (8-hour day and 54-hour week; 54-hour week in factories does not apply to boys), Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana,²⁷ New Mexico, New York, Texas (8-hour day and 48-hour week, under 15), Utah (boy under 14, girl under 16), Vermont, Virginia (8-hour day without exemptions, 44-hour week with exemptions).
3. Maximum working day 9 to 10 hours or over and 51 to 60 hours permitted per week (with and without exemptions): Ten States—Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina (8-hour day, by ruling of State child-welfare commission, for child under 14 in stores, etc.²⁸), Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota.

²⁵ No "regular" employment certificate required for child above minimum age (15); physical examination mandatory for "poverty" permit, which may be issued to child between 12 and 15 years of age under certain conditions.

²⁶ In one of these States (Louisiana) the law does not go into effect until July 1, 1927.

²⁷ Montana is classified here because work of children under 16 is prohibited at any time in factories; no provisions for stores except the hours of labor law applying to females.

²⁸ Minimum age in factories and canneries is 14.

E. Prohibition of night work

(The provisions here given are those applying to children under 16, unless otherwise indicated, in factories and stores. The same regulations in some States apply to other occupations and also to children up to 18 or 21 years of age, or to all females. Lack of any regulation for stores is classed as an exemption, as is also a specific exemption of canneries. Exemptions not applying to factories and stores do not affect the classification of a State.)

1. Night work prohibited (without exemptions): Twenty-five States and the District of Columbia—Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, District of Columbia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
2. Night work prohibited (with exemptions): Twenty States—Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana,²⁹ New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, South Carolina,³⁰ Texas (applies only to children under 15), Vermont, Virginia.
3. No night-work prohibition for children under 16: Three States—Nevada, South Dakota (children under 14 prohibited from work in stores after 7 p. m.), Utah. (See also Montana, classified under 2.)

F. Administrative provisions (child labor laws)

1. Employment certificates or work permits are required for children employed in factories (and in most States also in stores and other occupations) in 45 States and the District of Columbia (ages covered extend at least up to 16 unless otherwise indicated):
 - (a) Issued by local public-school official or his appointee (in 3 cases some other official also may issue, as indicated): Thirty-three ³¹ States and the District of Columbia—Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas (or by State commissioner of labor and statistics ³²), California, Colorado (or by superintendent or principal of a parochial school), Delaware (outside special school districts, State superintendent of public instruction or his deputy is issuing

²⁹ Montana is classified here because work of children under 16 is prohibited at any time in factories; no night-work prohibition for stores.

³⁰ No night-work prohibition applicable to stores, except that employment of all females in stores is prohibited after 10 p. m.

³¹ Not including New Hampshire, where local public-school authorities issue certificates, but are under the supervision of the State board of education, or Maryland, where local school superintendents may issue only outside Baltimore. See under (c). (See also (b).)

³² In practice, certificates are issued by State commissioner of labor and statistics, proof of age being forwarded to him by the school authorities.

officer), District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas (or by judge of juvenile court), Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia.

- (b) Issued by local public-school official (continuation school law) and by judge (labor law): Two States—Nevada, Washington.³³
- (c) Issued under State supervision (see also Arkansas under *a* and Washington under *b*): Eight States—Connecticut (secretary or agent of State board of education or specified school official designated by it); Maryland (State board of labor and statistics must issue in Baltimore and may issue elsewhere³⁴); New Hampshire (local school officials issue certificates, but the State board of education, through its power to enforce the certificate law and to appoint the county school superintendents, who are the issuing officers, has the issuance under its control); North Carolina (State child-welfare commission, which enforces the child labor law, appoints the issuing officers and prescribes the conditions under which certificates shall be granted); Oregon (State board of inspectors of child labor either itself issues or appoints the issuing officers and directs the work); South Carolina (commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industries issues permits based upon the parents' affidavits, which are obtained by the employer and forwarded to him); Vermont (commissioner of industries); Wisconsin (industrial commission issues in Milwaukee and appoints issuing officers elsewhere and supervises their work).
- (d) Issued by city factory inspector in New Orleans, elsewhere by local public-school authorities: One State—Louisiana.

³³ Industrial-welfare committee of State department of labor has the duty of supervising the administration of the law.

³⁴ Local school superintendents have coordinate authority outside Baltimore.

- (e) Issued by judge (see also under *a* and *b*): One State—Texas. (This is not the usual type of employment certificate, but a temporary permit issued to child permitted to be employed under the legal working age—15).
2. No employment-certificate or work-permit system applicable to general occupations provided by law: One State—Wyoming.
 3. Employment certificates or work permits are not required for employed children: Two States—Idaho (employer must keep “age records” of children 14 to 16); Mississippi (employer required to obtain parent’s affidavit of age and school attendance before employing child under 16).
 4. Inspection and penalties.

Provisions for the inspection of factories, stores, and other work places affected by the law and for the penalizing of offenders are provided for in the child-labor laws of almost all States. These provisions and the means for carrying them out vary greatly, however, from State to State, as does the effectiveness with which they are administered.

II. FEDERAL REGULATION

The standards here given are those of the Federal child labor tax law,²⁰ which did not specifically prohibit the employment of children, but which imposed a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of mines and quarries, mills, canneries, factories, workshops, and manufacturing establishments, in which children were employed contrary to certain age and hour standards. These standards were the same as those of the first Federal child labor law.³⁵

A. *Age minimum*

1. In mills, canneries, factories, workshops, and manufacturing establishments: Fourteen years (without exemptions).
2. In mines and quarries: Sixteen years (without exemptions).

B. *Educational minimum*

None.

C. *Physical minimum*

None.

D. *Maximum hours for children under 16*

1. In mills, canneries, factories, workshops, and manufacturing establishments: Eight hours per day and 6 days per week.

²⁰ Both the Federal child labor tax law and the first Federal child labor law have been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court. (See Outline I, Topic II, D, 3 and 4, p. 8.)

E. Prohibition of night work for children under 16

1. In mills, canneries, factories, workshops, and manufacturing establishments: Between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.

F. Administrative provisions for Federal child labor tax law

1. Employment certificates: Under this Federal act, employment certificates or working permits were not required for entrance to employment, but the act provided for their issuance as a protection to employers against unintentional liability to the tax. An employer was not held liable to the tax if "the only employment or permission to work which * * * would subject him to the tax, has been of a child as to whom such person has in good faith procured at the time of employing such child or permitting him to work, and has since in good faith relied upon and kept on file a certificate in such form, under such conditions, and by such persons as may be prescribed by a board consisting of the Secretary [of the Treasury], the Commissioner [of Internal Revenue], and the Secretary of Labor, showing the child to be of such age as not to subject such person to the tax imposed by this title." In order to save expense and prevent unnecessary duplication of work, the act provided for the acceptance for the purposes of the Federal act of certificates issued under State laws and by State authorities wherever these were issued in conformity with the requirements of the Federal authorities. Under the former Federal child labor act, which contained similar provisions with reference to certificates of age, 39 States and the District of Columbia were designated as States in which State employment certificates or working permits should have the same force and effect as Federal age certificates. In addition, Federal certificates were regularly issued in five States in which no State certificates were issued, or in which certificates were issued under conditions not consistent with the standards established by the Federal Child Labor Board.
2. Inspection: Authority to enter and inspect at any time any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment was granted by the act to—
 - (a) The Commissioner of Internal Revenue or any person duly authorized by him.
 - (b) The Secretary of Labor or any person duly authorized by him, for the purpose of complying with a request of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to make such an inspection.

III. TOPICAL OUTLINE

A somewhat more complete outline for analyzing the provisions of laws affecting the employment of children is as follows:

A. Prohibition of employment

1. Age minimum in—

- (a) The more common child-employing industries, such as factories and stores.
- (b) Occupations dangerous to life or limb or injurious to health or morals (excluding (c) and (d)).
 - (1) Prohibitions of specific occupations by law.
 - (2) Powers of administrative bodies and rulings made by them.
- (c) Street trades.
- (d) Public exhibitions.
- (e) Home work (sweatshop).
- (f) Agricultural pursuits.
- (g) Domestic service..

2. Enforcement.

- (a) Enforcing officials.
- (b) Penalties.

B. Compulsory school attendance

1. At day schools.

- (a) Requirement of attendance.
 - (1) Children affected.
 - (2) Attendance required.
- (b) Enforcement.
 - (1) Enforcing officials.
 - (2) Penalties.

2. At continuation and evening schools.

- (a) Requirement of attendance.
 - (1) Children affected.
 - (2) Attendance required.
 - (3) Establishment of schools.
- (b) Methods of enforcement.
 - (1) Enforcing officials.
 - (2) Penalties.

C. Regulation of children at work

1. Certificate provisions.

(a) Requirements for issuance.

- (1) Evidence of age.
- (2) Educational requirements.
- (3) Physical requirements.
- (4) Promise of employment.
- (5) Other (such as necessity for support of family, etc.).

(b) Administration.

Issuing officer.

(2) Return of certificate when child leaves employment.

(3) Other provisions.

2. Hours and conditions of work.

(a) Maximum hours.

(b) Prohibition of night work.

(c) Sanitation of work places.

3. Enforcement.

(a) Enforcing officials.

(b) Penalties.

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OUTLINE 5. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Vocational education in its narrowest sense is that education which fits the individual to earn a livelihood in a particular occupation. The best vocational training, however, aims not only to teach certain processes, but also to show how those processes are related to the vocation as a whole, in order that the worker, through a comprehensive grasp of fundamental principles, may realize to the fullest possible extent the dignity and interest of his vocation and its value to society. More specifically, it aims to lift young workers over unprogressive stages of employment by direct preparation for an occupation and to teach definitely in school that which is learned "on the job" in a haphazard way or by chance, if learned at all; it further enables the worker to change to a more congenial occupation and to advance in whatever occupation he may be pursuing. Satisfaction in work for the worker is one of the goals of vocational education, and this may include such tangible returns for his work as higher wages or income and opportunity for advancement. In wage-earning pursuits vocational education makes possible greater returns for employers in increased output, improved product, and elimination of waste of materials, time, and workers; and benefits society inasmuch as the standards of democracy depend on the worker's interest in his work and the social-mindedness of the people.

Vocational guidance is the attempt of those who are thoroughly familiar with the demands and possibilities of various vocations, on the one hand, and with the capabilities and inclinations of individuals, on the other hand, to assist young persons in their choice of an occupation.

I. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

A. *Need for vocational education*

1. Waste in resources and production is caused by unskilled workers.
2. Trade and commerce are handicapped by industrial inefficiency and waste.
3. Wage-earning power and satisfaction in work are increased with skill.
4. Skilled workers and conservation of resources are needed to offset the increased cost of living.
5. Vocational education provides an opportunity for training for all types of persons, including those already employed. There has been an increasing dissatisfaction with the ordinary school training because it has had little or no connection with vocational needs other than professional.

B. Kinds of vocational education

1. Industrial education trains for the mechanical trades and industries.
2. Commercial education trains not only for stenographic, secretarial, and general clerical positions, but for accounting, selling, business administration, and foreign trade.
3. Agricultural education trains for farm occupations and farm management.
4. Home-economics education trains for the occupations and the management of the home.

C. Industrial education

1. Apprenticeship, the old system of training, declined, owing to—
 - (a) The factory system of production with its machine specialization, by which each worker learns only one small process of an industry.
 - (b) A growing spirit of independence among young workers, resulting in a rebellion against the restriction of the apprenticeship system.
2. Evening schools were the first in this country to furnish industrial training, and are widely distributed.
3. A number of all-day schools for industrial education were established through private benevolence. The New York Trade School for instruction in the building and mechanical trades was a pioneer (1881).
4. Other types of industrial schools have developed as follows:
 - (a) Public industrial schools supported by State or municipal aid or by a city school system. These include, among others, trade high schools and high schools with industrial courses.
 - (b) Apprenticeship schools established by corporations and railroad companies to train their own young workers.
 - (c) Cooperative industrial schools based on an agreement between the school and the employer whereby the boy or girl alternates school with shop work, the two usually being closely related. These schools are in some instances public.

D. Commercial education

1. In response to a demand for trained office help private "business schools" were established in all the large cities of the United States between 1830 and 1860. There are now more than 2,000 such schools in the United States (see Federal Board for Vocational Education Bulletin No. 34, p. 9). The fact that these schools are run for profit has resulted, in many instances, in inferior or worthless training.

2. The public schools were slow to introduce commercial training. Within the last 20 years, however, commercial departments have been established in many high schools. Commercial high schools have been opened in a number of large cities.
3. "Business" instruction has for the most part been confined to bookkeeping and stenography. In recent years attempts are being made to fit the instruction to the needs of modern business positions and to broaden the curriculum.
4. One of the most recent developments in commercial education is the movement to teach salesmanship.

E. Agricultural education

1. Owing to the increasing cost of land, more intensive and scientific methods of farming than were customary a generation or two ago are found to be necessary.
2. Instruction in agriculture below college grade is comparatively recent.
3. In 1888 Minnesota established the first successful agricultural school of secondary grade in connection with the State Agricultural College. Over half the States have organized similar schools in connection with agricultural colleges. (See U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 85, 1919, p. 10.)
4. County or district agricultural schools serving the State or a certain portion of it have been established to teach young persons the principles of farming in a dozen or more States. (See U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 85, 1919, p. 11.)
5. A large number of high schools have agricultural departments or give agricultural courses. The instruction has varied from elementary textbook study covering a few months to a four-year course with practical work, including work either on school land or in a home agricultural project.

F. Home economics education

1. The custom of teaching household occupations to daughters in the household has been passing with modern conditions of living.
2. The application of science to everyday affairs created a new kind of home making based on scientific knowledge.
3. Instruction in sewing was given in the public schools in Boston in 1876 by authorization of the Massachusetts State Legislature. Instruction in cooking was authorized in 1885.

4. As part of the manual-training movement in the eighties, and of the vocational-education movement of the last decade, these subjects have been introduced into the public schools, both elementary and secondary, of most large cities, and instruction has gradually been extended to small towns and villages.
5. Only a small part of home-economics instruction has been on a vocational basis.
 - (a) It was confined in a large majority of schools to cooking and sewing.
 - (b) It was given as part of a general education and was allotted a very limited amount of time.
 - (c) Laboratory methods have been substituted for actual working conditions.
6. Recent tendencies include the following:
 - (a) Introducing actual household equipment into the school.
 - (b) Supplying a real objective for the work, such as preparing food for the school lunch room, preparing lunches for teachers, etc.
 - (c) Broadening the course to cover budget making, marketing, meal planning, home nursing, care of children, and all phases of home making.

G. Legislation

1. Prior to 1917 eight States had developed State systems providing State aid for vocational education: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, California. (See Second Annual Report of Federal Board for Vocational Education, 1918, p. 42.)
2. Legislation establishing part-time or continuation schools was enacted in Wisconsin (1911), Massachusetts (1913), and Pennsylvania (1915). These schools provided instruction for employed children over 14 years of age.
3. In 1917 the Smith-Hughes or vocational education act was passed by Congress.
 - (a) Purpose: To cooperate with the States in promoting vocational education in industry, agriculture, home economics, and commercial pursuits, by financial assistance to the States in paying the salaries of teachers of vocational subjects and in meeting the expenses of training teachers for vocational schools and classes.
 - (b) General provisions:
 - (1) Grants are conditional on Federal approval of State plans.
 - (2) States must match Federal funds.
 - (3) All instruction must be under public supervision or control.

- (c) Provisions applying to schools and classes offering vocational education:
- (1) The controlling purpose must be to fit for useful employment.
 - (2) Instruction must be of less than college grade.
 - (3) Training must be designed to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age who have entered on or are about to enter on a vocation.
 - (4) Teachers must be qualified under standards set up by the State board for vocational education and approved by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
- (d) Types of schools and classes organized under the act:
- (1) Day or full-time schools in agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry for unemployed young persons over 14 years of age. Interest centers on specific vocations, and science and art and other subjects pursued are related to and reinforce the special vocational lines.
 - (2) Part-time schools in agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry for employed young persons over 14 years of age. Instruction must be given during the working day and must continue for not less than 144 hours during the school year.
 - (a) Part-time extension, to increase the efficiency of the worker in a vocation already undertaken.
 - (b) Part-time preparatory, to prepare young workers for a vocation other than that in which they are employed.
 - (c) General continuation, to increase the civic and vocational intelligence of the worker. This is the only type of part-time school in which general academic subjects may be taught, and is designed for the younger groups with limited general education.
 - (3) Evening schools, designed for the adult workers who wish to supplement their skill and information in their vocation by short unit courses. In a few States without compulsory part-time legislation, attendance on evening schools for young workers from 14 to 16 years of age has been compulsory. This requirement is disappearing with compulsory part-time laws.

H. Progress in vocational education under the Smith-Hughes Act

1. State legislation for vocational education.
 - (a) At the close of the fiscal year 1918-19 every State had accepted through legislative act all the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act.
2. Increased appropriations.
 - (a) Total expenditures for vocational education from State, local, and Federal funds increased from less than 4 million dollars in 1917 to more than 20 million dollars in 1925. (Ninth Annual Report to Congress of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, 1925, p. 5.)
3. Increase in trained directors and supervisors.
 - (a) During the fiscal year 1925-26 reimbursement was made in part from Federal funds for the services of 144 State supervisors as compared with 54 in 1917-18.
4. Part-time education laws (as of August 15, 1926).
 - (a) Twenty-seven States now have public continuation school laws containing compulsory provisions.
 - (1) In 20 States the establishment of such schools is compulsory under certain specified conditions, and eligible children are required to attend.
 - (2) In 6 States the establishment is optional with local school authorities, but when the school has been established eligible children are required to attend.
 - (3) In one State the establishment is optional with local school authorities and they are authorized to require attendance.

I. Problems of vocational education

1. To secure a teaching force combining a good general education and ability to teach with vocational knowledge and experience.
2. To reproduce in the classroom conditions approximating those in the vocation studied; that is, to make the instruction practical. Factory shops and machinery, stores, and houses may be utilized to advantage, under public-school supervision.
3. In industrial training to produce a salable product.
 - (a) The advantages of producing a salable product are:
 - (1) To enable the pupil to confront real trade conditions.
 - (2) To emphasize high standards of workmanship.
 - (3) To demonstrate the value added to material by labor.
 - (4) To teach promptness and business methods.

- (b) On the other hand, certain drawbacks due to the effort to produce a salable product should be avoided.
- (1) The work should not be taken unless it serves the educational needs of the class.
 - (2) The pupils should not be allowed to repeat processes for the sake of rapid production.
4. To frame a curriculum which will combine practical occupational training with instruction in the broad underlying theory of the vocation in such a way that the student will be trained not only to pursue the vocation, but also to find satisfaction in his work and to understand its economic and social significance.
 5. To provide vocational training when it will be of most use—when the person is of an age suitable to enter immediately on a vocation at the completion of training.

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II. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE, PLACEMENT, AND SUPERVISION

A. Aims of vocational guidance

1. To help children and young persons under competent supervision to choose, prepare for, and enter occupations suited to their tastes and abilities, and enable them to give their best service to society.
2. To encourage a more varied program in the schools to the end that each child may obtain in school the training best suited to his needs and capacity for service.
3. To secure better articulation between the work of the school and the life of the community.

B. Need for vocational guidance

1. For children who go to work at an early age. Many untrained children leave school between 14 and 16 years knowing nothing of occupational life and nothing of their own tastes and aptitudes. They take the first job that is offered, usually one with no future, become dissatisfied, and drift from one occupation to another. Inefficiency, both personal and industrial, and a heavy labor turnover result. The years between 14 and 16 are, therefore, in most cases, worse than wasted in industry. These years are invaluable, however, for guidance and training, and if vocational guidance and vocational education are supplied, children are likely to remain in school longer than they otherwise would.
2. For children who are not compelled to make an early choice. These children may often be aroused to greater interest in their education through some vocational interest.
3. For all children. Vocational guidance helps the individual to realize the duties and responsibilities of a vocation and to understand his relationship to industry and to society as a whole.

C. Principles of vocational guidance

1. Vocational guidance should be preceded by educational guidance. The amount and kind of education for each child should be selected, so far as possible, in accordance with his general intelligence and abilities.
2. Vocational guidance should be a part of the school program and should begin before the end of the compulsory school age is reached.

3. The individual child should be studied as to his abilities, characteristics, and tastes.
 - (a) A cumulative school record should be kept, and should be accessible to counselors. It should present not only the academic but also the social and physical and mental history of the child, and should contain an analysis of personal qualities made from time to time by the child's teachers.
 - (b) Intelligence tests should be given by a qualified person to ascertain the child's level of general intelligence. These tests, however, can not determine a child's special abilities or temperamental traits, important factors in the choice of work.
 - (c) Opportunity should be given for a wide variety of "try-out experience in academic and esthetic work, gardening, simple processes with tools and machines, elementary commercial experiences, and cooperative pupil activities." (See Principles of Vocational Guidance, Section IV, referred to on p. 56.)
 - (d) Spontaneous interests should be noted by the teacher.
4. Industries and occupations should be studied by the person giving vocational advice. Guidance by persons with broad and exact knowledge of vocations is desirable, and it is essential that the counselor should know where to obtain such information.
 - (a) The amount and kind of education required for success in each kind of work and when and where it may be secured should be ascertained.
 - (b) Opportunities for advancement and manner of advancement (whether through supplementary education, for example) should be learned.
 - (c) Surveys of local occupational openings should be made.
5. Information on the requirements and opportunities of various vocations should be given to the child.
 - (a) Information should be given about commerce, industry, agriculture, and other vocations, in order to help the child in choosing the amount and kind of education best suited to his needs.
 - (b) Information should be given as to kind of training certain schools and courses offer.
 - (c) Information should be given regarding local opportunities for work.
 - (d) Information should be given regarding specific occupations.
 - (e) Information should be given in simple form in economics and in the ethics of vocational life.
6. The choice of occupation should be made by the individual himself.

D. Methods of giving vocational information and try-out experience

1. Definite attempts in each school subject to show the relation between that subject and occupational problems.
2. Assembly talks on vocations.
3. Distribution of pamphlets on occupations which can be easily understood by parents and children.
4. Periodic interviews with the individual child.
5. Surveys by children of local vocational openings, or of occupations into which their friends or former schoolmates have gone and the results.
6. "Occupational classes" in which vocations are made the subject of study. These classes should study—
 - (a) The relation of education to the world of work.
 - (b) General problems of the occupational world.
 - (c) Specific occupations.
7. Trade and commercial tests, consisting of a few weeks' experience in various occupations in trade and commercial classes.
8. Part-time work plans by which the child, while still in school, is enabled to try himself out at practical work. The child's development, and not the needs of industry, should be the first aim in this practice.

E. Placement

1. All juvenile placement agencies should be coordinated with a central bureau, organized as part of or in cooperation with the school system.
2. The placement bureau should supplement the work of vocational guidance already begun in the school and should work in close cooperation with the school from which the children come in order that it may—
 - (a) Give the school an intimate and practical knowledge of the current demands of the occupational world.
 - (b) Assist the school to adapt itself to the needs of the pupils and of the community.
 - (c) Persuade children, in cases where it seems advisable, to return to school for further education.
3. Job finding should be subordinated to the child's best interests. Not numbers placed but the right child in the right place should be the aim. Scholarship funds to help needy children to remain in school may be necessary to insure opportunity to all children.

F. Supervision

1. Supervision under the direction of the placement bureau, continued after the child has been placed, so that—
 - (a) If the occupation proves a "misfit" the child may be removed before he becomes discontented or discouraged.
 - (b) If lack of understanding between employer and child exists, it may be cleared up before the child leaves or is discharged.
 - (c) The child may be advised in regard to promotion, further training, or advanced study.
2. Part-time schools, such as continuation and evening schools, offer a means of maintaining supervision over the child after he has gone to work.

G. Important steps in the development in the United States of the movement for vocational guidance

1. In April, 1908, a vocational bureau was organized in Boston under Prof. Frank Parsons, who had for some time been interested in helping young immigrants find themselves vocationally. In the early years of its establishment, it was asked to organize the vocational guidance work in the public schools of Boston. It was reorganized in June, 1909, under Dr. Meyer Bloomfield, on a comprehensive plan to aid children and young people of Boston in their choice of occupation and was known as the Boston vocation bureau. In addition to giving vocational advice, the bureau organized summer courses in various universities and training courses in vocational guidance; it arranged for the first National Conference on Vocational Guidance, in Boston in 1910; it published pamphlets and books on trades, commercial occupations and professions; investigated vocational guidance in various countries of Europe and in Porto Rico; organized the Boston Employment Managers' Association in 1911; published many books bearing on kindred problems; carried on investigations; drew up plans for schools and school systems, etc. In 1917 the bureau was taken over by the division of education, Harvard University, as the bureau of vocational guidance.
2. Work in New York City: The High School Teachers' Association in 1908 began vocational guidance work by making surveys of occupations and holding conferences with graduating pupils. It also prepared pamphlets on vocational subjects and made provision for placement. Voluntary committees

under the High School Teachers' Association worked in individual schools. In 1916 a vocational guidance bureau was established by the Henry Street Settlement working through the public schools. In 1920 this bureau was consolidated with the Junior Employment Service of New York, and the Henry Street Settlement Committee for Vocational Scholarships, forming the Vocational Service for Juniors.

3. Work in Chicago: In 1910 the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy started a bureau of vocational supervision to do placement work. In 1913 the board of education gave office space and referred all children applying for employment certificates to this bureau. Industries in Chicago have been investigated and bulletins published. Follow-up work is done. Early in 1916 the board of education took over the work and established a bureau of vocational guidance.
4. Work in Cincinnati: In 1911 a bureau of vocational guidance financed by private funds was started. Three years later the bureau was organized as a part of the public-school system. It consists of three divisions—a department of laboratory research, a certificate-issuing office, and a placement office. Mental tests made by the department of laboratory research have resulted in modifying the school curriculum and in the formation of a number of special classes, some for children of inferior intelligence, others for superior children.
5. Many other cities have developed vocational guidance programs during the past decade.
6. The Junior Division of the United States Employment Service: In December, 1918, a junior section was established in the United States Employment Service, "charged with the guidance and placement of boys and girls under 21 years of age, the designation or appointment of duly qualified counselors, and the provision of suitable methods of organization for the proper counseling of such applicants." (See U. S. Employment Service, Annual Report of the Director General, 1919, p. 38.) The junior division functions through cooperation with local public-school systems and other agencies in various cities throughout the country. During the year 1926 cooperating offices were conducted in 26 cities.

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OUTLINE 6. MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING EMPLOYMENT

The following standards for children entering employment were drawn up at a series of conferences on standards of child welfare called by the Federal Children's Bureau at Washington and a number of other representative cities in May and June, 1919, and attended by child-welfare experts from the United States and many foreign countries. They are intended, as it was pointed out at the time, only as minimum standards and not as in any way limiting the degree of protection which an advanced State might desire to give its children.

Fundamental to the attainment of adequate standards for the protection of children in industry is the possession by the father of the family of an income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living. Hardly less urgent is the need to improve the schools and to adapt them to present-day needs.

I. AGE MINIMUM

- A. The age minimum for employment in any occupation shall be 16 years, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods until schools are continuous throughout the year. (See Outline 4, Topics I, A, 1, and II, A, 1, pp. 30, 39.)
- B. The age minimum for employment in and about mines and quarries shall be 18 years. (See Outline 4, Topics I, A, 2 and II, A, 2, pp. 31, 39.)
- C. The age minimum for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies shall be 21 years.
- D. The age minimum for employment in the special-delivery service of the United States Post Office Department shall be 21 years.
- E. The employment of minors in dangerous, unhealthy, or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development shall be prohibited. (See Outline 3, Topics II, A, 4, and II, D, 2, pp. 23, 26; also Outline 4, Topic I, A, 3, p. 32.)

II. EDUCATIONAL MINIMUM

- A. All children between 7 and 16 years of age shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year. (See Outline 3, Topic II, B, p. 24; also Outline 4, Topic I, B, p. 33.)

- B. Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have completed the eighth but not the high-school grade and are legally and regularly employed shall be required to attend day continuation schools at least eight hours a week. (See Outline 4, Topic I, B, 2, p. 33.)
- C. Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have not completed the eighth grade, or children who have completed the eighth grade and are not regularly employed, shall attend full-time school. Occupational training specially adapted to their needs shall be provided for those children who are unable because of mental subnormality to profit by ordinary school instruction.
- D. Vacation schools placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure time activities shall be provided for all children.

III. PHYSICAL MINIMUM

(See Outline 3, Topic II, A, p. 23; also Outline 4, Topic I, C, p. 35)

- A. A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physician or other medical officer specially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.
 - 1. A permanent committee of physicians appointed by the United States Children's Bureau to formulate definite standards of normal development and sound health for use of physicians in examining working children has issued a preliminary report. This report covers:
 - (a) Standards of normal development in boys and girls of specified ages.
 - (b) Defects for which children should be refused certificates, temporarily or absolutely.
 - (c) Points to be covered and methods to be employed in physical examinations.
- B. There shall be annual physical examinations of all working children who are under 18 years of age.
 - 1. It is generally believed that children are specially liable to injury from overstrain, but practically nothing definite is known of the effects of child labor nor of specific occupation on the growth of the body.
 - (a) The Children's Bureau committee on physical standards for working children points out the urgent necessity for authoritative scientific investigation in this field.

2. Periodic examination will reveal before it is too late to prevent further injury whether or not a child is physically fit for the occupation in which he is employed.

(a) The committee urges reexamination for children when changing occupations and an examination at least once a year for every working child.

IV. HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT

A. No minor shall be employed more than 8 hours a day or 44 hours a week. The maximum working day for children between 16 and 18 years of age shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults. (See Outline 4, Topics I, D, and II, D, pp. 36, 39.)

1. In many States, even where younger children are protected, children over 16 years of age are allowed to work ten hours—in some States even longer.

2. Studies of the relation of fatigue to output have shown that long hours are as little justified by output as by their effect on the health of children.

B. The hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

C. Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. (See Outline 3, Topic II, A, 4, p. 23; also Outline 4, Topics I, E, and II, E, pp. 37, 40.)

V. EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES

(See Outline 4, Topics I, F, 1, and II, F, 1, pp. 37, 40)

A. Provision shall be made for issuing employment certificates to all children entering employment who are under 18 years of age.

B. An employment certificate shall not be issued to the child until the issuing officer has received, approved, and filed the following:

1. A birth certificate, or, if unobtainable, other reliable documentary proof of the child's age.

2. Satisfactory evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade.

3. A certificate of physical fitness signed by a public-school physician or other medical officer specially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law. This certificate shall state that the minor has been thoroughly examined by the physician and that he is physically qualified for the employment contemplated.

4. Promise of employment.

- C. The certificate shall be issued to the employer and shall be returned by the employer to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employment.
- D. The school last attended, the compulsory education department, and the continuation schools shall be kept informed by the issuing officers of certificates issued or refused and of unemployed children for whom certificates have been issued.
- E. Minors over 18 years of age shall be required to present evidence of age before being permitted to work in occupations in which the entrance ages or hours are specially regulated.
- F. Record forms shall be standardized and the issuing of employment certificates shall be under State supervision.
- G. Reports shall be made to the factory inspection department of all certificates issued and refused.

VI. COMPULSORY-ATTENDANCE LAWS

- A. Full-time attendance officers adequately proportioned to the school population shall be provided in cities, towns, and counties to enforce the school attendance law.
- B. The enforcement of school-attendance laws by city, town, or county school authorities shall be under State supervision.

VII. FACTORY INSPECTION AND PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF EMPLOYED MINORS

(See Outline 4, Topics I, F, 4, and II, F, 2, pp. 39, 40)

- A. Inspection for the enforcement of all child-labor laws, including those regulating the employment of children in mines or quarries, shall be under one and the same department. The number of inspectors shall be sufficient to insure semiannual inspections of all establishments in which children are employed, and such special inspections and investigations as are necessary to insure the protection of the children.
- B. Provisions should be made for a staff of physicians adequate to examine annually all employed children under 18 years of age. (See Outline 3, Topic II, A, p. 23; Outline 6, Topic III, B, p. 58.)

VIII. MINIMUM WAGE

- A. Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living, as determined by a minimum-wage commission or other similar official board." During a period of learning they may be rated as learners and paid accordingly. The length of the learning period should be fixed by such commission or other similar official board, on educational principles only.

IX. PLACEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT SUPERVISION

(See Outline 5, Topic II, p. 51)

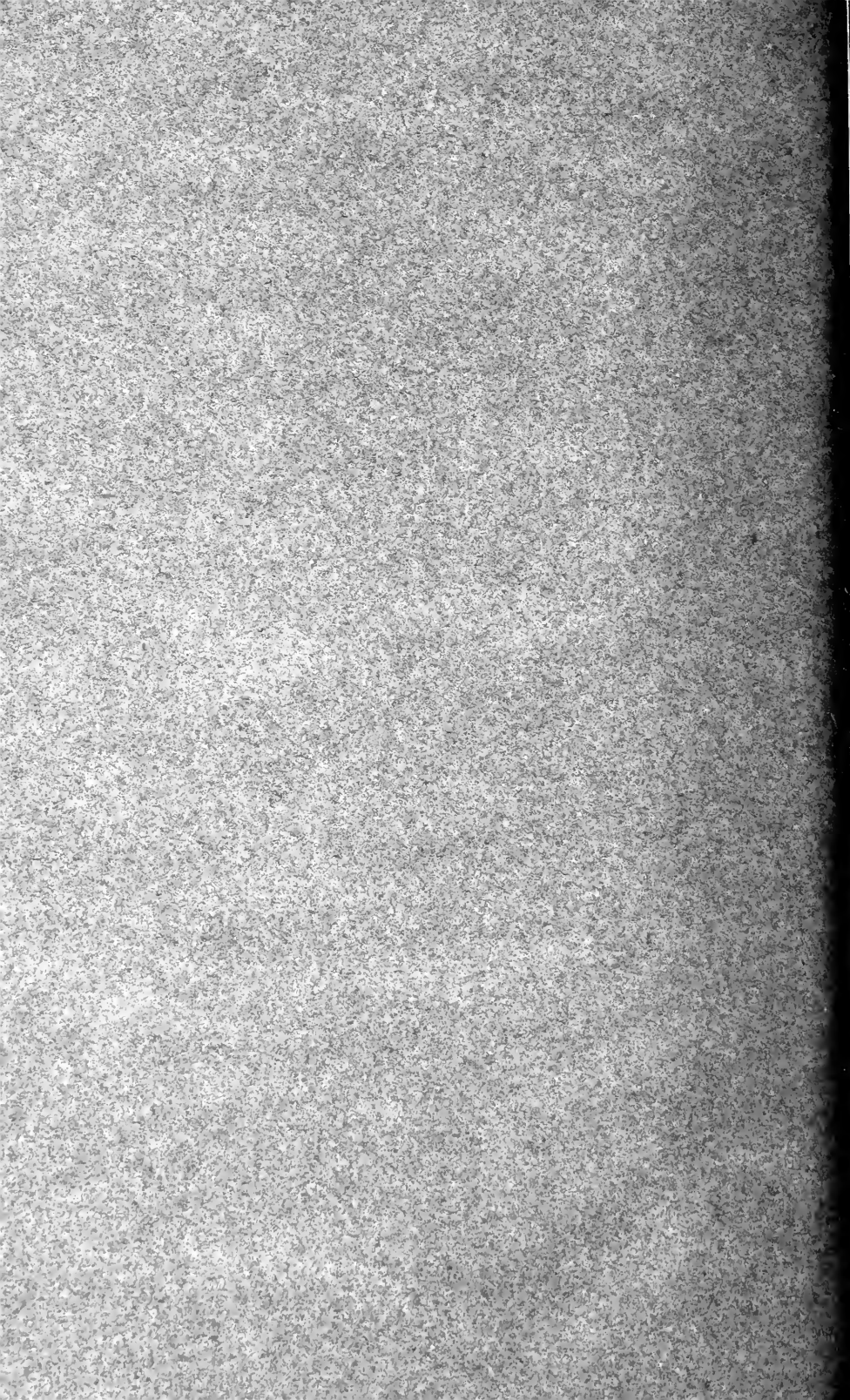
- A. There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them, for assisting them in finding suitable work, and providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first few years of their employment. All agencies working toward these ends shall be coordinated through the central agency.

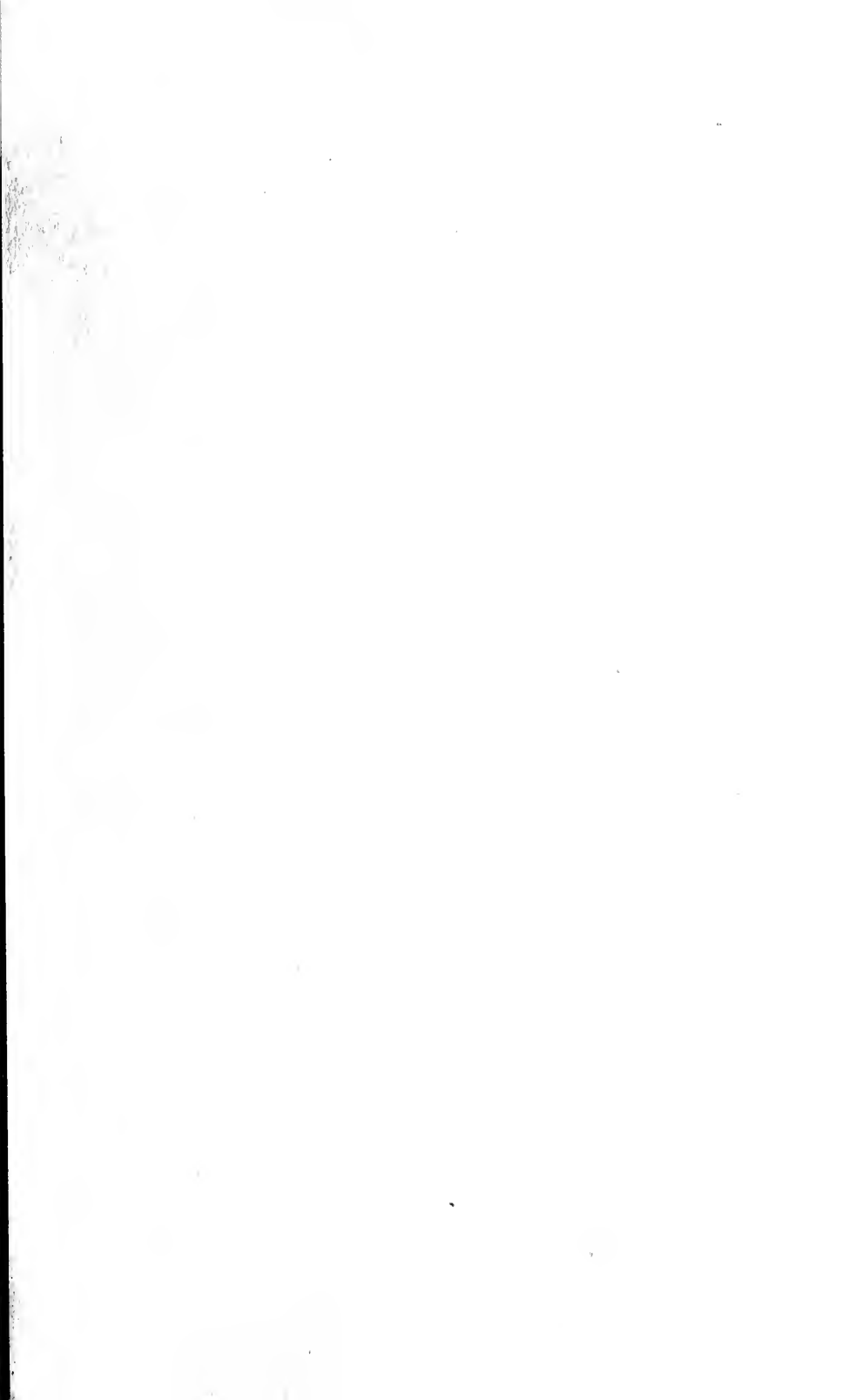
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